

# The Philanthropist.

JAMES G. BIRNEY.]

We are verily guilty concerning our brother \*\*\* therefore, is this distress come upon us.

[EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

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## THE PHILANTHROPIST

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### Terms.

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All Letters and Communications must be post-paid—and should be directed to the Editor of the Philanthropist. Names of the Counties particularly should be mentioned in directing where papers are to be sent.  
An Advertisement making one square or a space of equal length and breadth, will be inserted three times for One Dollar.

### Slave-Holder's Department.

From the Lexington (Ky.) Intelligencer.

"WHEN GREEK MEETS GREEK, THEN COMES THE TUG OF WAR."—Lee.

To the Hon. GEORGE McDUFFIE, Governor of South Carolina.

HONORED SIR:—I read with pleasure, the extract from your message to the legislature of South Carolina. An address is seldom penned in a strain unacceptable to those who are to receive it. Hence, I judge, that your State in general, coincides with your sentiments. And I believe you will find no difficulty in obtaining the passage of laws, such as you suggest, in the sister States, only observing that you must not expect them to deliver up their citizens, to be tried in your State, for an offence committed in their own: a grievance not among the least of those which we pointed out as reasons for declaring independence. Nor must you imagine that while we prohibit incendiary publications, we mean to check the right of enquiry on any subject, political or religious. If we did, I know not but these hasty, though well-meant lines, might bring me into trouble. The disclaimer you request is superfluous. No fact is better established, than the right of each State to direct its own domestic concerns; but if you wish to make assurance doubly sure, and to fortify demonstration by testimony, your sister States will oblige you by complying with your desire.

I venture to offer some observations on your message, prefacing particulars with the general remark, that I feel pained at your exordium, filled as it is with language so vehement, to say the least of it, that I am persuaded you yourself will feel somewhat uneasy, in reviewing such a collection of epithets, so closely packed together; "intensely, indignantly, and justly,"—"wanton, officious, and incendiary,"—"wicked monsters, and deluded fanatics,"—"hypocritical benevolence,"—"fiend-like errand,"—"fanatical enthusiasm,"—"voluntary madness,"—"religious impostures,"—"multiplying villanies,"—"diabolical ends,"—"infernal altars,"—"unholy creed,"—"felon renegade," &c. All these would have come in better in your peroration; still better would have been left for the reader to infer from your lucid statement of facts. Your school-friend Horace, might have taught you to begin gently, and to reserve your vehemence for your closing periods:—otherwise:—

Parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.  
The mountains bellow, and the mouse is born.

The penalty of death for incendiary writings is severe. I doubt whether the madness of Whig and Tory times went so far. Add to this, that the difficulty of distinguishing "incendiary" from "argumentative," may one day involve some of our best citizens in the charge; nay, strange as it may seem, even your neck may be drawn into a noose of your own making, by that impetuosity which distinguishes you, both in speech and writing. We shall go so far as to impose fines, perhaps imprisonment, but as we are not, as yet, in so much danger as yourselves, we cannot, as yet, feel equal terror. Three fourths of our population are white: about three sevenths of yours are so. In 1790 you counted 140,178 whites, to 108,895 blacks. In 1830, do. do. 257,858 do. do. to 323,580 do. At a like proportion increase, the blacks in 1860, will nearly double the whites. At that time I know not what will become of those, who, with you, already feel themselves seated on a "mighty magazine of combustible matter, the explosion of which would lay the State in atoms." They will have recourse to measures stronger than those proposed by you. They will deport, the free colored people, or reduce them to slavery; so then, as Tacitus expressed it, "*velut e conspectu libertas tollitur*," that the right of freedom may not instigate rebellion. Perhaps they may forbid the use of the word liberty in public, and the leading orators, deprived of their one string, may cease fiddling for the excitement of the vulgar. Perhaps a Venetian government, with a Council of Ten, may control the State, and suffer every kind of discussion—except political. There is no knowing what necessity may compel—those who have not felt it will not accept existence upon such terms. Would it not be as well to endeavor to lessen your combustible matter: or, at least, to prevent its increase? But neither is possible under your present impressions.

For the institution of domestic slavery, you are responsible to God alone; and his law of retribution, inscribed, as well on the page of history, as on the tablet of the human heart, will inform you, that sloth must yield to industry, and the dominion of the few to the ultimately, irresistible power of the many. Tyre perished in one night by her slaves. The Athenians were ruined by their desertion—Sparta saw her princes excluded from her walls, and from their wives, by their slaves—Rome saw her proudest citizens glad to court the Emperor's freedmen. Had the Indians been personally industrious, we should never have seen the Blue Ridge. They abhor labor, and threw it upon their women. We abhor labor, and have thrown it upon our negroes. Let us look back towards the sea board, and see who they are, who are now advancing in numbers behind us.

In vain will man strive against nature, in vain will those who govern, strive to maintain authority by severe laws. The Romans guarded the master's life by blending it with those of his whole family—and four hundred men, women and infants, have, in one day, suffered for a single murder. They amalgamated with facility, their slaves being of their own color. Yet, all this could not save them. The moment an enemy appeared before Rome, he found auxiliaries in the slaves. Dykes may confine the river, but the bed of the river rises with them, till the insupportable weight of water bears all down before it. You hold the welf by the ears, and every hour his strength increases; get clear of him if you can at the expense of your fingers. Perhaps you may, with some Virginians, comfort yourselves with the prospect of our becoming one day, as hard pressed as you are. Such a day will come; mean time, we must rest contented with the hope of being the last devoured.

You defend slavery by the example of the Patriarchs; but Abraham was not a slaveholder; he was the same as an Arabian Sheikh. He armed three hundred and eighteen trained servants, born in his own house—his horde, or clan, might consist of as many subjects as General Hampton counted slaves, but his authority was of a different nature. General Jackson at Orleans, called the freedmen of color to arms, but did not think proper to summon the slaves. At Norfolk, in Virginia, the masters drove their slaves from the coast, to prevent their desertion. This worse than worthless population was replaced by mountaineers, fifteen hundred of whom perished under the ungenial climate. Cornwallis marched through the Carolinas, Burgoyne stopt in New England. Such is the difference between the population raised by wealthy planters, and that produced by laborious farmers. When I see you propose, in default of children, to make your principal slave your heir; when I see you send him to a distant country, to fetch home a wife for your eldest son; I will then believe that the servitude of the east and the slavery of the west, are one and the same thing. When I see you take in marriage, a pair of sisters, and each of your obliging partners presenting you with a hand-maid, I shall think you more in earnest in proposing the Patriarchal example, than I now believe you are. When I hear of your inviting the wearied travellers; of your running to the herd, to select a calf for their entertainment, and of your standing by, in attendance while they partake, I shall be strongly inclined to take a journey, to view the manners of Arabia revived in South Carolina, and share the hospitality of Sheikh McDuffie.

Freedom, is indeed, an endowment of God—conferred, as you observe, on those who are fit for it. It runs not in the blood. Witness Spain, Greece and Italy. The institutions amidst which we are brought up, enable us to receive it. The Spanish colonies set up for themselves, and poor work they have made of it. We undertook the same trade long before, and succeeded—for we were well brought up. Your negroes have served a long apprenticeship, and when you see how well they manage their little republic on the coast of Guinea, you may judge whether they may conduct public business on a larger scale—which indeed requires no great share of wisdom, if we may credit an eminent European first Minister; or if we credit your own judgment, that "the affairs of the United States are in the hands of a man incapable of pursuing the easiest chain of legal reasoning." We, who see these people keep shops and support themselves, in a situation where many white men have failed, are inclined to think them not utterly unqualified, not only for rational freedom, but for self-government of any kind. You degrade the negro, by declaring that the mark of Cain is upon him. Perhaps you forget, that Cain's posterity perished in the flood. As for the curse of Ham, it fell only on Canaan. Why, or wherefore, I cannot say. No curse was denounced on Ham in Scripture, and the intellect and capacity for government of his descendants are related in history, and verified in the Pyramids and tombs of Egypt.

I shall not oppose your opinion of the superior condition of the American slave to the African negro. I believe, that I could maintain the superiority of the emancipated slave in Liberia, to that of his comrades in America. Self-government, is not as difficult a task, when it is forced upon us, as we are apt to think. The child in a town is a very different creature from him on the frontier. Many an honest shopkeeper in the East Indies, fifty years ago, became an excellent politician. Without meaning to compliment ourselves, we may observe, that our fathers, who laid the foundation of our independence, were mostly taught by any thing besides their situation, which forced them upon duties, which they discharged and discharged well, though many of them would have flinched from the offices they filled, could they have done so. Men of the same character, at this day, exist in Hayti. If this people are destined, by providence, to occupy servile dependence; if they have all the qualities that fit them for slaves, and not one of those that would fit them for freemen; suppose, my dear sir, that you head a deputation to Hayti, where you may convince those semi-outraged, that their emancipation is a positive curse, depriving them of a guardianship, essential to their happiness, and which you are willing to undertake. I fear they would so far forget the dignity of a white man as to laugh in your face, and that, when they recovered a serious tone, they would inform you that they possessed, at any rate, two qualities that fitted them for freedom; sense enough to know its value, and courage to maintain it.

Such an errand, however, would be well worthy of your wide-stretching humanity—a humanity reaching from Carolina to Liberia, and to Europe. In the first, you contemplate at leisure the happiness of your negroes, who are so happy, that their masters envy their situation—though I never heard that any of them tried to exchange the one for the other;—so well fed, that an English operative does not eat half the same quantity;—although said negro's meal is measured out to them;—so free from care, that no creature can be more so, except the hog;—of such exuberant spirits that they dance and sing more than any other people, except the Greeks, under the Turkish cudgel; or a Frenchman under the old regime. Turning from thence to Liberia, you see the miserable colonists exterminating the miserable natives, or exterminated by them, although, in a settlement of a dozen years, not twice that number of colonists have lost their lives in defending them. In Europe you contemplate, with deep sympathy, the sufferings of the cotton-spinners, arising from the dismissal of two millions of negroes—although not one million are employed in that cultivation, and even those if dismissed, would be compelled to work for their bread, by those laws, which their masters would both make and enforce. Whatever may be my opinion of your philanthropy, I will not follow your example in branding it as "mischievous, misguided spirit of sickly sentimentality," language used by you, in mentioning the judgment of those statesmen, who, with Washington and Jefferson, considered our system of domestic slavery, as a curse to our white population. I will agree that it is a delightful state of society, and that the increasing number of the slaves, beyond that of the whites, proves the happiness of the former superior to that of the latter. Only suffer me to observe, that the increase of these people, must in another generation, advance beyond their supply of food—the irrational negro will then cease to be a tame beast—he will become wild—and his keeper will be the first victim of his ferocity.

You please me by mentioning amalgamation in terms of horror; yet, when I observe its prevalence in the best southern families, I feel uneasy; still more, when I reflect that the victory of the blacks in Hayti was obtained by the spirit and information of the mulattos. However little you may like to part with your negroes, you cannot be too soon rid of this half-breed: a measure which will equally benefit South Carolina and Liberia. I do not know whether

you can bear a retrospective law, but there could be no offence in your deporting every woman whose offspring hereafter marks her guilty of amalgamation. Her paramour ought to accompany her; but, as this would be a difficult point to prove, you will content yourselves by punishing the woman's owner with the loss of his property; forfeited perhaps, by his guilt, certainly by his negligence. You cannot be too early in proposing such a law. Already the color is diffused widely, and if report says true, there is a possibility that a gingerbread or nankin lady, may one day give as much trouble at Washington, as was occasioned by a white lady there, a few years since—and which our venerable President found so hard to appease, that we may say of the hero, that he was every where irresistible, excepting in the Senate, and among the ladies.

Some years ago the venerable Thomas Ritchie gave up part of a letter from an eminent South Carolinian, who, long before incendiary writings disturbed us, viewed, like yourself, his native State placed on a mighty magazine of combustibles, the explosion of which would lay it in atoms. This gentleman closed his letter with words to this effect: "O God, what will become of us! what shall we do! But something must be done." Would it be amiss for you, after providing for the suppression of incendiaries, to look your danger in the face, by ordering an accurate census—particularly of the unmarried whites, a class which increases with the arts and elegancies of life, and of which you will find none among the negroes, a circumstance alone sufficient to account for their comparative increase. To know the extent of an evil, is much towards its remedy—the administering of which we leave to yourselves, with fervent prayers for your success.

The Spartans were a military nation. They bruted the Helots, a nation, originally, at least their equals, and thus kept them under, till Epaminondas appeared. Forty years hence, there will need no Epaminondas, with sixty thousand men, to set in flames your combustible matter. Twenty thousand under a common commander, will be sufficient. As yet, you are not ripe for such an attack. The nations of Europe know this, hence I am not uneasy at present, on this account, notwithstanding the dull and imperfect rumors of a French war. But it will behoove you to provide in time for future danger, to keep high the spirit and discipline of your freemen, and since you have forbidden reading to your negroes, to convince them by real instruction, how greatly their condition has been improved by their subjection to an enlightened and christian people. Inculcate upon them, by your example, as well as precept, the christian virtues of patience, forbearance and forgiveness of injuries. Thus you may break, if not prevent, the fall which, while I anticipate, I deprecate as earnestly as yourself. At the same time, forbear your public and fiery harangues upon liberty. Keep that subject for your firesides, and your secret councils. Your negroes have ears, and however you may despise them, sense enough to comprehend your speeches. To hold forth upon liberty in their presence, though not as criminal, is as mischievous as to disseminate incendiary pamphlets. The thoughtless boy who loses a squib into a powder magazine, though not as culpable as the wretch who attempts to fire it, may do a deed equally ruinous. Though, like yourself, a friend to nullification, I never approved the fanatical spirit in which it was carried on, by inflammatory speeches and publications of the same stamp. Let the defenders of liberty in a slave State, remember in whose presence, as well as in whose favor, they are speaking.

I could not disturb the Utopia of South Carolina, much less destroy what you consider, the most perfect system of social and political happiness that ever existed. Yet I suspect that the admirable order and humanity visible on your plantation, and on those of the gentlemen who are worthy of your society, have concealed from you deficiencies in the system, which might appear from a nearer view. I remember a youth, born on the plantation of a man, as excellent a master as he was a parent. This youth, when first called out upon the patrol, witnessed scenes of misery, which, before, he could not believe existed. But this was in Virginia, and I will not hurt the feelings of a South Carolinian, so far as to compare one State with the other. Were I disposed to do so, I could unfold a tale in frightful contrast to that which you have related, of the paternal goodness and the filial gratitude of the master and slave in Carolina.

I am somewhat alarmed when I remark that your attachment to your system leads you to advise its adoption in the northern States, where the lower class of people are likely to endanger property, and thus, to prove that a man's situation, and not the color of his skin, is a proof of his being fit, or unfit, to partake the right of suffrage. To remedy this, different political orders must be established, and the property of a tenth of the people must be secured by taking away the suffrages of nine-tenths. When the people, in general, are sunk to the level of your negroes, this proposal may safely be made; till then, its unlucky advocate will find much the same justice here as a gamester at Vicksburg, or an abolitionist in South Carolina.

I could wish you not to be so very severe on fanaticism and enthusiasm—they are closely allied. The latter, says Montaigne, undertakes to perform miracles, and not unfrequently, fulfils her contracts. The mind, sunk into negro stagnation, knows her not. 'Twas this principle which supported the martyrs of liberty on the banks of Uri, and the English martyrs of religion, in the flames of Smithfield. But why cross the Atlantic for my instance? 'Twas this, under whose influence our fathers chose rather to stake their necks, than to agree to a speculative principle, embodied in a three-penny tea-tax. And do not be offended, when I remark that your fervid disposition partakes largely of both these qualities. Nothing short of enthusiasm could have dictated your message, any more than the many displays of your zeal, impetuous as eloquent, witnessed in Congress. And many of our fellow citizens, I do not say of the first rank, will consider your idea of limiting the right of voting to the higher ranks, as something so atrocious as to be inexcusable, except by a fanaticism akin to insanity:—

Summum crede nefas  
—Propter vitam vivendi perdere causas.

To give up the motives of life, for the sake of saving it, was the height of absurdity, in the opinion of Juvenal. And to give up that freedom, which makes property valuable, for the sake of preserving property, is only to be matched by the folly of him, who sells himself as a slave for money, which in his receiving, becomes with himself, the property of his master; or, by the fanaticism of the man who proposes such a measure.

Stem, turbulent, and bloody as was the Athenian democracy, I prefer it, beyond comparison, to the steady well-ordered aristocracy of Venice. One produced men, the other nobles. The liberty of the citizens was the object of the one, the property and dignity of the nobles that of the other. The Athenians contended to the extremity for their country.

Not a hand moved in defence of Venice. So too, the Roman nobles, after buying out the plebeians, and re-planting their farms with slaves, found themselves left alone, without defenders. They had annihilated the people. They could no longer effect what was easy to their grandfathers, who, with a stamp of the foot, could bid their legions rise.

I excuse your laudable partiality to your native country, when you assert that the great whig principles of liberty, had their origin in the slave-holding States. The British Parliament thought not so. They punished Massachusetts, by closing the port of Boston, which they considered the focus of sedition, but do not seem even to have thought of Carolina.

In the progress of what you call political slavery, you anticipate a military despotism, as a refuge from anarchy and robbery, except these are prevented by limiting the right of voting to the wealthy. On the other hand, others, in the progress of domestic slavery, anticipate a military despotism, as a refuge from fire, and sword, a destiny not to be adverted except by deportation, or amalgamation. To use your own quotation, "Disguise it as you may, to this complexion you must come at last." Your General will be your master, and if the bump of amalgamation is as well developed in him, as in another celebrated General of the day, he may bring his taste into fashion. Great men have great influence. To use again your language, "There needs only a voluntary and gratuitous assumption of responsibility, in imitation of a recent and high example in our history." The wry neck of Alexander twisted those of his courtiers.

Like you, I wish my descendants to enjoy to perpetuity, those institutions under which I have lived happily. But this wish is idle in a human creature. Man! and forever!

Our institutions must share the fate of every thing on earth. My prayer, ardent as your own, is that my forebodings may prove to be the effect of dotage. Whatever freedom I may have used with your opinions, I am happy to assure you that you stand high in mine, as an honest man and a zealous friend to our common country. As such accept the deep respect of him who honors himself in the signature of,

Your friend and well-wisher,  
AN AGED SLAVEHOLDER.

EXTRACTS FROM GOVERNOR TAZEWELL'S  
MESSAGE.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate,  
and House of Delegates:—

Since the last adjournment of the General Assembly, matters of so much interest to this Commonwealth have occurred, that when they first attracted my attention, I doubted whether my duty did not require of me to exert the authority given by the constitution, and to convene you at a much earlier period than that to which you have been adjourned. But after a most careful examination of all our laws applicable to the then existing state of things, I found the powers with which the ordinary functionaries of the Commonwealth were thereby endowed, amply sufficient to prevent or punish any threatened disturbance of the public peace, that might occur within our limits, and that even your powers would suffice to repress such designs when conceived or attempted beyond our confines. To effect an object so desirable, the co-operation of other governments was requisite. Such co-operation could neither be asked or expected, however, until the several legislatures of these governments should assemble; and as this would not happen until after the time of your own regular meeting, I thought it better to take no notice of what was then going on, than to add to the prevailing excitement by any official act of mine; or to expose you to the great inconvenience which would probably be occasioned by a sudden and unexpected call of the general assembly, especially at such a season.

That many of the citizens of the northern and eastern States, aided by a few foreigners sojourning within their own limits, have devised a system, in which they still persevere, to produce a direct interference with the slave property of the southern and south-western States, is now a matter of such notoriety as to need no reference to any particular evidence to establish its truth. To effect this purpose, they have organized numerous societies, have subscribed large sums of money, and have established presses to print and disseminate the disorganising, seditious and incendiary doctrines of the members of these associations. All this has been done and is still doing, for the undisguised purpose of effecting the immediate emancipation of our slaves. The authors of such schemes abide without our limits, and are so beyond the reach of our municipal laws. They are thus enabled with impunity, to scatter amongst us, materials obviously designed, and well calculated to lead to insurrection, rapine and murder. The post-offices under the direction and control of the Federal Government, furnish a ready mode of transmitting and spreading their mischievous productions.

These fanatics do not stop here. They assert a right in the Congress of the United States, to interfere with our property in various other modes. They contend, that Congress is endowed by the Federal Constitution, with plenary authority to emancipate every slave in the District of Columbia—that it may inhibit the transportation of slaves, as such, from one State to another—that it may emancipate all slaves within the Territories of the United States, and interdict the future introduction of any into the same, as a precedent condition to the admission of such Territories into the Union, as component members of the United States—and they boldly announce their purpose of exhibiting these several propositions before the Congress now about to convene, and to claim their decision of the same.

Under this aspect of affairs, two questions demand your consideration, the prompt decision of which is required, not less by the rights of the States, than by the security and interests of those you represent. The first of these questions refers to the condition of things now existing, and expects of you to determine whether such a state shall longer be borne. The second regards the proposed change in our present relations, which relations have so long brought happiness and tranquility to all. This demands of you to decide upon the course most proper to be pursued in the emergency of the threatened change.

It is vain to turn away our eyes from the state of things that now exists. We have to meet it, in some form or other; and it belongs properly to you to decide as to the manner in which this shall be done. It is no time to temporise. Should any thing arrest the progress of the scheme devised, for the present, experience teaches that it will surely be revived hereafter; whenever any circumstance may arise promising to its authors a more favorable result; and in such a government as that of the United States occasions will often present themselves, even if they are not made, when such projects may be agitated with some fancied or pretended prospect of success. It behooves you, therefore, to settle at once, upon

the course proper to be pursued in such a contingency; and to inform those whom you represent, either to prepare for the occasion as becomes men determined to peril all in defence of their known rights, or to hold their possessions at the mere courtesy of others, who are unacquainted with their situation and indifferent to their interests. Feeling with the other citizens of this Commonwealth, and honored by the responsible situation conferred upon me, I must be excused for calling your attention to this great subject, in a manner more impressive than I should think myself at liberty to adopt under ordinary circumstances.

In regard to the first question, no one can doubt that under the wise provisions of the public law, intended as this is, to perpetuate the peace and harmony of all States, whenever an association exists within the territory of any State, the object of which association is to disturb the repose of another, the State whose tranquility is jeopardized by such means may rightfully demand of the other, the prompt suppression of all such associations. Such demands, when sustained by proper proofs, are never refused by any State which wishes to remain a member of the family of civilized communities, or desires to maintain amicable relations with the State making and sustaining the demand. There is no exception to this rule. To doubt it now would be to replunge the civilized world into that barbarism from which it has emerged, and to justify every nation in the impudent attempt to regulate the affairs of others, by its own notions; which, although sometimes concealed beneath the guise of pretended philanthropy, may always be traced to considerations much less pure. Hence the universal doctrine and practice of modern States, is never to obtrude even their advice unasked, as to the mere internal concerns of others, so long as these do no injury to their neighbors. And, what States may not do themselves, can never be tolerated by them as the acts of their citizens or subjects, unless they mean to adopt such acts as their own.

The different States of this confederacy, are surely entitled to expect from each other, at least the same courtesy and consideration, which is always manifested by nations absolutely independent and unconnected. Every clause of the Federal compact includes this lesson, which has sunk so deep into the heart of almost every native American, that it may be well regarded as constituting the strongest bond of our Union. Then, the slaveholding States have a perfect right to require of all the others, that they should adopt prompt and efficient means to suppress all such associations existing within their respective limits. Nor ought it to be doubted, as I think, that such a demand, if made, will meet from each of the other States a ready compliance on its part. Not doubting this myself, I will not suggest to you now, any measures founded on a contrary supposition. But I will content myself with recommending to you at present, the adoption of such measures only as may justify a strong application to each of our co-States within whose limits any of the associations referred to may exist, to suppress them speedily, and to establish such other regulations as may be effectual to prevent or punish acts designed or calculated to disturb our tranquility.

Although these are my impressions, it is due to the importance of the occasion that I should say to you; that many who have had much better opportunities of forming correct opinions upon the subject than I have had, do not concur with me in this respect. I have had much correspondence in relation to it, with persons upon the spot; which a regard to the public good prevents me from exhibiting to you at this time. The prevailing opinion of most of those with whom I have communicated, is, that no effectual legislative action need be expected on the part of our co-States, where it must be necessary; but that the southern and south-western States will have to rely upon themselves only, for the preservation of their own peace and tranquility. Therefore, while making a strong appeal to our co-States, to do their duty towards us, prudence will suggest to you the propriety of considering the neglect of such an appeal, as at least a possible event.

I send you herewith an extract from a letter I have received, from one to whose veracity and intelligence all respect is due. This letter accompanied a package containing a great number of books, tracts and other publications, which I have retained in this department for your inspection. The letter itself will disclose to you its own object.

IMPRUDENCE OF SLAVEHOLDERS.—We have seen this morning, an envelope addressed to Arthur Tappan and gang, franked by J. Speight, a member of Congress from North Carolina, containing a piece of rope, with this sensible, liberal and manly *en-voi*.

"I herewith return you your protest, enclosing, as a testimony of my high regard for your necks, a piece of rope. You will no doubt duly appreciate my motives."  
J. SPEIGHT.

Washington, 2d Jan. 1836"  
The paper thus returned, was a printed Protest of the American Anti-Slavery Society, against the denunciation of the President of the United States, in his Message—a copy of which had been sent to each member of Congress—a document signed by Arthur Tappan, William Jay, and others.—*New York American*.

### WAR.

The following is the opinion of the celebrated statesman, JAMES MADISON, on the subject of war; contained in a pamphlet published in 1795. If he afterwards acted at variance with the principles here laid down, it only adds another to the many thousand proofs, that practice and precept do not always go hand in hand:—

"Of all the enemies of public liberty (says Mr. Madison in the pamphlet) war is perhaps the most to be dreaded, because, it comprises and develops the genius of every other. War is the parent of armies; and from these proceed debts and taxes. And armies, and debts, and taxes, are the known instruments for bringing the many under the dominion of the few. In war too, the discretionary power of the Executive is extended; and all the means of seducing the mind are added to those of subduing the force of the people.

The same malignant aspect in republicanism may be traced, in the inequality of fortunes and opportunities of fraud, growing out of a state of war, and in the degeneracy of manners and morals engendered by both. No nation could preserve its freedom in the midst of continued warfare.

These truths are well established; they are read in every page which records the progression from a less arbitrary government; or the transition from a popular government to an aristocracy or a monarchy!"  
In giving of thy alms, enquire not so much into the person as his necessity: God looks not so much upon the merits of him that requires, as into the manner of him that relieves; if the man deserve not, thou hast given it to humanity.—*Quarles*.



# THE PHILANTHROPIST.

NEW RICHMOND, OHIO, JAN. 29, 1836.

To CORRESPONDENTS.—We can give no assurance of publishing any communication reflecting, whether truly or otherwise, on the conduct of our fellow-citizens individually or collectively, without being entrusted with the name of the writer.

"Carro"—would have been published this week, had it not been for an accidental circumstance, arising from the remote location of our press from our place of residence.

PUBLIC MEETING.—A meeting of the citizens of Cincinnati, opposed to the course now pursuing by those individuals composing Abolition and Anti-Slavery Societies, is respectfully requested on this evening, at 7 o'clock, at the Court-house, in this city.

Joseph Pierce, R. Buchanan, Wm. Tift, David Loring, Wm. Greene, Jacob Strader, W. R. Thomas, N. G. Pendleton, M. T. Williams, E. Hulst, Ed. Woodruff, Griffin Yeatman, J. Burnet, A. Irwin, O. M. Spencer, S. C. Ogden, Jas. Reynolds, Geo. W. Neff, G. V. H. De Witt, Levi James, Peter Benson, Charles Hale, John P. Garrison, C. S. Ramsay, Daniel C. Caswell, Nathan Sharp, A. McAlpin, Elam P. Langdon, David Griffin, Jan. 29d, 1836.—Cin. Gaz.

In pursuance of the above call, some 500 or 600 of the citizens assembled in the court room by 7 o'clock in the evening. The Mayor of the city was nominated to preside—assisted by three Vice Presidents, Judge Burke, (Post-master) Judge Burnet, and Judge Torrence. The latter not being present, the Rev. O. M. Spencer was nominated in his stead. Mr. Spencer, either not being present, or silently declining the proposed honor,—the seat of the 3d Vice President was filled by Morgan Neville, Esq.—Three Secretaries were appointed—Messrs. Robert Buchanan, Archibald Irwin, and Allison Owen.

A motion was made—by Mr. Lytle, we believe,—for the appointment of a committee of fifteen, to prepare resolutions to be submitted to the consideration of the meeting. Accordingly the committee was appointed, consisting of Messrs. Robert T. Lytle, John C. Wright, N. Longworth, Nathaniel Wright, Joseph Pierce, Samuel R. Miller, William Tift, William Greene, N. G. Pendleton, G. W. Neff, David Gwynne, J. H. Groesbeck, Jos. S. Benham, Robert Punshon, and Josiah Lawrence.

The committee having withdrawn to an adjoining room, a motion was submitted by Henry Starr, Esq., that the Constitution of the "Cincinnati Anti-Slavery Society" be read. There was on the part of the meeting, a general response to the reasonableness of a proposition, intended to afford some information on what they had come together to condemn. It so happened, that the President was provided with a copy of the Constitution, printed by order of the Society, some weeks ago, and to which their "Declaration of Sentiments" had been prefixed;—being, with a few unimportant alterations, the eloquent and thrilling "Declaration" prepared by our brother, Weld, and adopted by the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society, at its organization in April last. To our great joy, he began, not with the Constitution itself,—which is only the detail of organization, without principles, or argument, or mode of action,—but with the "Declaration." Up to the time, when, as we think it was beginning to tell even on the hearts of opponents, silence was well preserved. But when it was read about half through; when its true character began to be ascertained; (for, we suppose, not one in twenty of the anti-abolitionists had read it before) and expectation of finding in it something worthy of condemnation was beginning to fail—many, especially those in the rear, seemed to have suddenly taken cold,—if we might judge from the fit of coughing with which they were, all at once, seized. However, the President had read about two-thirds of the Declaration,—and read it well too, considering the circumstances—when a Mr. Foster (as we are informed) interrupted him, by submitting a motion, that the reading of the remainder—except the names—be omitted. The reason he urged in favor of the motion was—that as the meeting was an anti-abolition meeting, he could see no propriety in reading an abolition document. At this time there was some little disorder, arising from a confused expression of opposing views. Dr. Drake moved that the reading of the Declaration go on, with the exception of the names—as a disclosure of them might be the means of directing against respectable citizens, with whom they daily associated, a measure of obloquy, to which they ought not to be exposed. The doctor's motion was met by Col. Charles Hale of Fifth street, who showed it no quarter, in some very spirited remarks in opposition. The colonel wished to have the names read, that the owners of them might be held up to obloquy, and that the citizens might thus be admonished, not to associate with them—remarking that however Dr. Drake might think proper to make them his associates, he, (the colonel) did not.

The speaker having, in a few minutes, become quite animated—and finding his position on the floor too low for his aspirations, mounted a table at hand, and spoke with great acceptance to a large portion of the audience—if we may judge from the repeated cheers by which he was encouraged. When he came to speak of *amalgamation*, a subject on which, in its most interesting details, he had evidently bestowed much and curious attention, he kindled almost into enthusiasm. He was happy in his graphic description of his going to the house of Mr. Birney, to warn him, though a stranger, of the public indignation with which he would soon be visited if he did not desist from publishing his paper, and from lecturing about slavery in this city. The manner in which he related the circumstances of his going, found by Mr. B. on the steps of the door on opening it for his admission, with one of the "biggest and most blackest niggers" he had ever seen in the whole course of his life—and Mr. B.'s treatment of him and the "nigger," drew forth no small merriment and applause. [The Colonel omitted, doubtless for want of time, or memory, much that passed between him and Mr.

B.—Such as his reply, when reminded by Mr. B. of the sacredness of the obligation resting on every man to submit to the constitution and laws of the land,—and that any one who would deliberately break through them to trample on the rights of another, even the most humble, was an enemy to his country;—to all which the colonel replied, that the people on such occasions,—determined to have peace and quiet,—disregarded constitutions and laws—that they took them into their own hands—and that he himself would lead in pulling down the house of his own brother should he be found acting, as I was, on the subject of slavery.] The successful lunge made by the colonel on Dr. Drake's hide-bound notions of delicacy; his spirited sketch of the interview between himself and Mr. B. including the well timed episode of the "biggest and the most blackest" with various other anecdotes, showing how persevering had been his opposition, and triumphant his efforts against the inroads of the amalgamators of this city—all this, fired off, with the precision of one of the colonel's own platoons, quite blew the doctor's motion out of the water, and the names were ordered to be read.

Many—and we think, those, chiefly, who occupied the space between the bar and the bench, were still desirous to hear the residue of the Declaration read,—and the motion to omit reading it was lost by a large majority. So that, the whole—Declaration, Constitution, Names and all were read. [We cannot forbear interrupting the narrative of the meeting, to tell an anecdote that, we are informed, occurred at this point of time. One of the gentlemen who signed the call for the meeting at the conclusion of the reading remarked to a friend—"if this be abolition I have nothing against it," and retired from the place.]

Here, Mr. Birney drew the attention of the President, by remarking, that, as his name had been associated with circumstances tending, in no small degree, to disparage him in the estimation of the meeting, and the community generally—he would, with permission, say a few words in explanation of the circumstances with which he had been connected by the last speaker. The request was met by some difference of sentiment on the part of the audience;—however, by far the greater part it is believed, were in favor of Mr. B.'s being heard. Mr. B. was about to proceed, when the return of the committee, ready to report, was announced. Two of the committee, Judge Wright and Mr. Lytle suggested the propriety of his deferring what he had to say, till the report was made and acted on; both of them manifesting entire willingness that he should be heard. This course was taken, as being agreeable to all parties, and Judge Wright read the report as follows:—

WHEREAS, The union of the States, embracing a great variety of soil and climate, could have only been effected in the first instance, by patriotic sacrifice, mutual forbearance, and a decided spirit of compromise. Our fathers, spurning individual considerations, looked mainly to the great object of becoming one nation, influenced by our common interest, regarding each other as fellow-citizens of the same great country. Among the sacrifices made, there was many of feeling, as well as of interest. The south was found in possession of a kind of property which did not exist to any extent in the middle and eastern States: after a full and thorough discussion, the compact of union was consummated, leaving to the slave States, the full discretion of settling the momentous question in their own way, and in their own good time; the implied guarantee was thus promulgated, that slave property should be held sacred by the constitution, and be protected by the laws.

The course pursued by the Abolition and Anti-Slavery Societies, of the free States, is calculated not only to render unstable the tenure of this kind of property, but threatens to spread desolation and murder throughout the peaceful borders of our sister States. The imprudence, the immorality, the wickedness of this course are already affecting our social relations, jeopardizing our internal commerce, and throwing obstacles in the way of those great contemplated schemes of improvement, by which the enlightened men of the different States, are struggling to draw closer the bonds of brotherly feeling, and social intercommunication. The case has become alarming; in this emergency, it behoves the temperate and prudent among us, who appreciate the value of our glorious union, to take some direct action on the subject; otherwise we may expect some evil spirit to arise, to overcloud our brilliant perspective, by dashing the cup of harmony to pieces. The urgency applies particularly to Cincinnati, inasmuch as a few misguided men have recently made it the theatre for disseminating doctrines and sentiments entirely at variance with the views and feelings of the great mass of our population; therefore,

Resolved, "That it is a breach of our highest political contract, and a violation of good faith and common honesty, to disturb the internal condition and domestic arrangements of the slave-holding States."

Resolved, That this meeting view with distrust and abhorrence the course pursued by Abolition Societies, which, with professions of mercy and good feeling on their lips, are advocating measures which are pregnant with injury, to the political, commercial and friendly relations between the States.

Resolved, That while we cherish as freemen the liberty of the press, and of speech, as among the most sacred provisions of the constitution, we view them as controlled by the same rules which govern other rights, viz: to be used in such a manner as not to injure the acknowledged rights of others.

Resolved, That the discussions of Anti-Slavery Societies, and the circulation of papers and pamphlets, tending to excite, in any manner, the negroes of the slave-holding States, is a profligate abuse of this boasted right, as immoral, and cruel in reference to the southern States, as it is impolitic and ruinous as regards ourselves.

Resolved, That fully impressed as we are with the insignificance, as regards numbers, of the abolitionists of the west, and aware of the excited and provoked feelings of the great mass of our fellow-citizens opposed to their views, we consider it our duty to warn these deluded men, of the odium they are creating, and of the danger they are incurring in persevering in their weak and vain struggles for an object impracticable and unattainable.

Resolved, That the course pursued by the Anti-Slavery Societies throughout the country, is daily weakening the ties by which the States are united, and must if persisted in, terminate in a dissolution of the union; we are, therefore, constrained to consider the advocates of such institutions, as enemies to the happiness of the people and to the peace and prosperity of the union.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting the course of the advocates of Abolition is directly calculated to defeat their object; to impose upon the slave, and perpetrate additional burdens; and to restrain and interrupt the benevolent exertions of individuals in the slave States to ameliorate their condition.

Resolved, That we coincide fully in the enlightened views taken by the governor of New York in his late message on this subject, and believe with him, that if in defiance of the well known established popular sentiment, to sustain in its purity the integrity of the federal compact, these "misguided men" continue to pursue a course at war with the same, that we will join in recommending the prompt and efficient legislation of this State, in con-

junction with the other members of the confederacy, to arrest their designs, and thereby sustain the original compact, which made us a united people.

Resolved, That the nature and tendency of Abolition Societies and the conduct of certain persons connected with them, are at variance with the federal compact, and the mutual obligation of the States united thereby; and if not treasonable, are highly revolutionary in their tendencies, and ought to be discontinued by all good and patriotic citizens; and that we will not suffer the inflammatory publications of such institutions to be introduced into our houses, counting-rooms, or workshops.

Resolved, That the institution of slavery, as it exists in this country, under the sanction of our constitution, and happy form of government, is known to all who have sought an asylum in our country; and to whom the benefits of citizenship are extended. We, therefore, consider it indecorous for such persons to engage in projects which are calculated to subvert the institutions of our country.

Resolved, That this meeting will exert every lawful effort to suppress the publication of any abolition paper in this city or neighborhood. And that they advise, in a spirit of frankness, such as may be concerned in a project of this description, to abandon the attempt.

Resolved, That while we approve and advocate upon all subjects, the toleration of individual freedom of speech and opinion, yet we feel constrained to deprecate the formation of such Societies as lead manifestly to an infringement if not a destruction of the federal compact. And that while every good citizen is obligated to resist confederacies of this description, they do most solemnly condemn the Abolition Association in all its branches, as necessarily conducive to such results.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting, it is not expedient for Congress to adopt a course of legislation for the District of Columbia by which the citizens thereof will be deprived of the right of property in their slaves, which right we believe is secured to them by the constitution and laws of the land.

During the absence of the committee, the constitution of the Cincinnati Anti-Slavery Society was read by the president of the meeting, at the request of Henry Starr, Esq.

The meeting was ably and eloquently addressed by Judge Wright, Hon. R. T. Lytle, Col. Pendleton, and others, expressing firmly and decidedly their disapprobation of the professed doctrines and the whole course pursued by the abolitionists. The speakers were frequently interrupted by the cheering responses of the whole meeting.

Mr. Birney requested, and was suffered to be heard in defense of the abolitionists.

[Mr. B. did not request to be heard in defense of the abolitionists. Leave was spontaneously granted to him twice, as he thought—yet it was, in fact, recalled by the tumult of those who had acceded to it.]

On motion of Colonel Pendleton, it was Resolved, That a copy of the proceedings of this meeting, signed by the officers, together with the preamble and resolutions, be forwarded to the senators and representatives in Congress from Ohio—to the members of the senate and house of representatives of the legislature of Ohio from this city and county, and to his excellency, the governor of the State, with a request that he will lay the same before the General Assembly.

On motion of Judge Wright, Resolved, That the publishers of the several papers, in this city, be respectfully requested to publish the proceedings of this meeting.

SAMUEL W. DAVIES, President.

JACOB BURNET, MORGAN NEVILLE, WILLIAM BURKE, O. M. SPENCER, } Vice Presidents.

ROBT. BUCHANAN, ARCHD. IRWIN, ALLISON OWEN, } Secretaries.

The report being read, Judge Wright, in a deliberate, and to us, pleasing manner, supported by remarks, filling up some six or eight minutes of time, the principles embodied in the preamble and resolutions. The substance of what he said was, in our judgment, as hostile to the constitutional liberty and to the acknowledged rights of his fellow-citizens as we expect to prove the report to be; and the street and coffee-house not ours which he uttered against abolitionists, showed, conclusively, to us, that their cause had not received as much of the labor of his excellent mind, as he would, properly, deem it his duty to bestow on that of a private client who had one hundred dollars in jeopardy.

Mr. Lytle now rose to submit a few remarks on the report, and to redeem the pledge he had given, to move that Mr. Birney be heard, generally, as it was understood, as the advocate of abolition. This he did in very handsome and just terms—for which he has our thanks, albeit, his remarks, made in a subsequent speech, in reference to Mr. B. particularly, and to those with whom Mr. B. acted generally, were in bad keeping with them. The first speech compared with the last, was as the salutary letting off of steam, to the desolating explosion of the boiler.

Mr. Birney, construing the permission granted him, under Mr. Lytle's motion, to authorize an exposition of Anti-Slavery views generally (and believing, from the ignorance of them, manifested by the speakers and in the report, that nothing else was more wanting,) as well as of the part he was acting in relation to the Philanthropist, and to discussions of the subject of slavery,—left the topics introduced by Col. Hale, after simply stating that the colored man, found by him at the door with the Colonel, had, on being invited to enter the house, quietly seated himself in a remote part of the room, and had remained silent, notwithstanding some very offensive and cruel allusions to him because of his color, by the Colonel—and that when the latter withdrew, Mr. B. having no work for the colored man, which he came to apply for, he, also, withdrew.

Mr. B. proceeded to state, why he, particularly, rather than persons under different circumstances, ought to publish a paper given up to the subject now occupying the public mind. He was a native of a slave State; had been a slave-holder, till eighteen or twenty months ago; had, from the circumstance of his having resided many years in the south [Alabama] seen slavery in all its phases—had, very narrowly, watched its effects, and enjoyed advantages, not possessed by residents of free States, for understanding the whole subject. He adverted to that moderation of temper which he had, always, heretofore, and which he trusted, he ever should maintain, not only in the discussion of slavery; but of every other subject which he might find it his duty to investigate and discuss. As a reason of no small weight, why he should treat the south, with all proper fairness and tenderness—he had, residing there, almost the whole of a large family-connection who were slave-holders,—and whose welfare and safety were matters to him of, by no means, unimportant concern. As Mr. B. advanced in his subject, adverting to the disproportionate increase of the slaves above that of the whites in the south—showing, that from this process alone, there must finally—and that before very long—be a ruinous explosion there; that to prevent this was a great

object of the abolitionists; that, as to himself, he thought, the best service he could render as a Christian to his brethren, who were slave-holders, was, to persuade them to discontinue, what, must, if persisted in, prove their ultimate destruction;—the dearest service he could perform to his country was to rescue her from quick-coming desolation (yet in mercy suspended) because of her oppression,—whilst, as we say, Mr. B. was treating the subject in this way,—in a temper, too, to which even the most "chivalrous" spirits of the south would scarcely have taken exception—the signs of dissatisfaction in the assembly were evidently on the increase. They seemed to have forgotten, that they themselves had, by their own act, placed Mr. B. in the situation he now occupied—and he was, several times, so interrupted by the clamors of the unruly part of the audience, that he deemed it proper to suspend his remarks, till they should cease.

He next took up the objection made to the constitutionality of the course pursued by the advocates of anti-slavery principles—and was proceeding in a strain of mild argumentation, when, it was evident, the disorder was fast growing into an uproar. It was cried out, "stop him, stop him!" put him down, put him down!" while one rather more funeral than the rest, was heard to exclaim, "put him to death!" Whilst Mr. B. desisted, to see if the outcry would exhaust itself, the President again put it to vote, whether he should be allowed to proceed in the general defense he was making for abolitionists. [He, the President, seemed to have construed the permission granted to him to extend no further than to an explanation of Col. Hale's account of things.] It was again decided that Mr. B. should proceed—nearly all the orderly part of the assembly voting in the affirmative, and one or two gentlemen assigning as their reason, that Mr. B. was making a stronger anti-abolition speech, than any they could make. Others, however, did not seem to think so—for, notwithstanding the reiterated permission granted to defend his principles at large, and to speak, as he thought he was called to do, of his friends and of himself, the uproar soon prevented him from being heard. At this juncture, the President—near whom Mr. B. was standing, as well as one of the Vice Presidents, intimated to him, that from the state of feeling in the meeting it was useless for him to attempt to proceed, and that it would be well to desist. To this Mr. B. assented—and order being restored for a moment, he signified in respectful terms, that he would desist from any further remarks.

Next came Mr. Lytle, greeted "with many and loud acclamations."—"And he did talk! ye gods! how he did talk!"—"He called so loud, that all the hollow deep of—(the court-house) resounded." We had thought that the race of "thunder and lightning" orators had become extinct, at the death of the late Gov. Williams of South Carolina. But we were mistaken. It still exists;—and the mantle of "Thunder and Lightning Williams" is the sole and undisputed inheritance of "Thunder and Lightning" Lytle. We pretend not to give any of the argument of Mr. L.—it being like the Frenchman's flea, who "when I put my finger on him, began he no there."

The Philanthropist troubled him exceedingly. To him it was as Banquo's ghost to the bloody hero of the stage. It was evident, "the fit was on him," for the strange hallucination took possession of his mind that, if ever it had been at New Richmond, it had some time since deserted its abode, and was now, either like the fabled Delos, wandering about without any local habitation, or else, it was anchored somewhere on terra firma in this city and practising its incantations right in the midst of us. [Here Mr. Birney interposed, to allay the evil spirit, and to quiet his alarms—though not successfully—by the assurance, that the Philanthropist was to be found, bodily, at New Richmond and nowhere else.] But it would not do—the exorcism of Mr. B. was too feeble to cast out the powerful spirit which had taken possession of some of the upper chambers of Mr. L. for still did he insist, that although New Richmond might be its place of residence, yet it had been often seen on its spirit-like prowls through the neighboring country; pertinaciously, did he argue that it had been seen, if not by himself, by others who could not be deceived, entering a large brick store on Main street in this city—haunting here for a while—then entering a large box—anon, perching itself on a day—driving in open daylight along Main street—turning down Third, and finally disappearing, to the astonishment of all who watched its antics, in the very house occupied by Judge Burke, minister of the gospel, Vice President of this meeting, and Deputy Post-master of the United States. In conclusion, on this part of the drama, it was very clear to all close observers, that "shadows to night had struck more terror to the soul of Richard than could the substance of ten thousand soldiers, armed in proof and mustered at New Richmond."

A topic, which seemed powerfully to magnetize all the loose particles of Mr. L.'s mind was, what would the people of South Carolina say to us here, if the "assassins" of them and their children were permitted to concoct their plans in this city—and what would become of the railroad, if the abolitionists should be known to have, right in our midst, a tent for *poorwowing*, and a workshop for sharpening and pointing their fiery darts? Ay, there's the rub. To one unacquainted with the theological views entertained by Mr. L. in reference to the blacks, it might seem strange, that he gave such importance to the railroad—so great indeed, that it seemed as if he was ready to destroy liberty at home, that he might confirm slavery abroad. *Liberty this, we know not—but some have thought, that great influence—if not too much—was given to the facilities which would be afforded by a railroad, for visiting the Patriarch, McDuffie,—to receive further theological instruction from his regular annual lecture, and of witnessing the simplicity and happiness of primitive times, revived in the laughing fields and sunny plantations of the Patriarchs and Princes of the south.*

As a theologian, Mr. L. is beyond all doubt of the *McDuffie school*—believing, with that Patriarch, that it is very clear from the Bible, that the black man was made for slavery; and insisting, with an earnestness that dissipated every doubt of his sincerity, that slavery is the best and happiest condition to which he can aspire. He rebuked with glowing intensity of language, the efforts of the abolitionists to educate and improve the colored people of this city—because it was only making them more capable of mischief, as well as fighting against their destiny of degradation. The real African—the black—*remaining such*—never could be elevated; this had been unsuccessfully tried at Liberia. There was but one pre-

\*David R. Williams, more than twenty years ago, was a respectable and influential member of Congress from South Carolina. The ardor of his patriotism, set off by a noisy and minatory species of eloquence, secured to him, during life, the prefix of "Thunder and Lightning"—to the utter extermination of "David R." the nomen and cognomen given to him at baptism.

cess by which it could be done—that was by expelling the black blood from the race. And this plan could be carried out in no other way, than by performing on the black males a surgical operation, which—however desirous of historical accuracy—I will not here describe in the language used by Mr. L. If, too, there should be at any time a superabundance of slaves, so that they would be dangerous from their numbers; or if a diminution of the stock should be desirable on any account—the same operation on the black males, with a corresponding one on the black females, would ensure, to any extent, the accomplishment of southern wishes and the security of our southern friends. "Give me some civet, good apothecary, to sweeten my imagination." But enough of Mr. Lytle's speech. It was, indeed an extraordinary one. I know not how better to describe it, as a whole, than by a distich of Dryden's applied to one of his cotemporaries.

"A monstrous mass of foul corrupted matter  
As all the d\*\*\*s had spued to make the batter."

After the speaker had ended, and had resumed his seat, amidst a thundergust of applause, Judge Wright, apprehending, as he doubtless did, that if any mobocratic elements were in the assembly, they had been put into briak commotion, by the speech of Mr. L., rose and made some very sensible remarks,—and well adapted to preserve the peace of the assembly. He made prominent this sentiment, "that whilst the meeting had shown a commendable care for the rights of our southern friends, it ought to be remembered that the rights of our immediate neighbors were not less worthy to be preserved and respected." We wish this was acted on, as well as spoken.

The President made a few remarks, in explanation of a conversation he had formerly had with Mr. Birney,—in relation to the printing and circulation of the Declaration and Constitution which had been read this evening;—Mr. B. added at his request a few more, in further explanation;—the President then exhorted those assembled to good order and decorum in dispersing, and the meeting, after passing the preamble and resolutions, with but one dissenting voice as to two of them, adjourned sine die.

Such is the history—playfully given, and in good humor withal, yet correct as to facts so far as we can recollect—of the anti-abolition meeting in Cincinnati. There were some circumstances that looked oddly when laid side by side. First, there was the mayor, the chief officer of the city; second, an ex-judge and late senator in Congress; third, a gentleman, without title or office, but of unexceptionable standing; fourth, a gentleman, who made up for all deficiency of title in the last, by having condensed within himself titles derived from the sacred ministry, as well as from the *judiciary* and the *executive* departments of our government. To these were added three secretaries and a committee of fifteen. Against the respectability of the whole staff 100 men, we believe, can say a word. Cincinnati, it is believed, could not have furnished a more respectable corps of gentlemen of property and standing, to lead the way in any object of a public nature. Yet who is not struck with the incongruity of all this parade, with the statement, that these against whom they were marshalled, "are insignificant as regards numbers" and that "the great mass of our fellow-citizens" are not only "opposed to their views" but entertain towards them "excited and provoked feelings."

It is the respectability of the conductors of this meeting that afflicts us with mournful solicitude for the cause of liberty and our country. When, before, could such an assemblage have been held, substantially to encourage the south in maintaining and perpetuating her ruinous system of slavery? When, before, could this have been done, accompanied, too, with a voluntary pledge to the south, that every lawful effort would be exerted to suppress any paper that dares to discuss the merits of slavery or warn the people of the ruin it is bringing on the country? When, before, could such a meeting have ventured to pledge itself to exert every lawful effort to suppress newspapers not only in their own city, but to exercise its power in suppressing them in the neighborhood? When, before, could such a set of resolutions,—branding the advocates of freedom and constitutional rights with acting to revolutionize the government and dissolve the union—threatening those who are peaceably endeavoring to inform their fellow-citizens of the peril into which their dearest rights are brought, with a course of legislation that shall be sufficient to arrest them? Never, before, we honestly believe—therefore, never before was there such need that an enlightened people, yet free, should pass, on such proceedings, a peaceful yet decided judgment of condemnation.

We propose, hereafter, subjecting to the test of close examination, the dangerous principles embodied in the above resolutions; entertaining no doubt that when stripped of their drapery, they will present a skeleton at which, even many who voted for them will turn away in disgust.

ABOLITION AND REVIVALS.—The article below has suggested to us, this question—Is the anti-slavery discussion opposed to revivals of religion? We should undoubtedly answer in the negative. In desiring to renovate the principles of a government founded on the equality of men as to rights, a truth, we believe, revealed in the word of God—and to conduct to the happiest termination of which it is susceptible, a system acknowledged to be corrupting to all parties concerned, surely there can be nothing which opposes the dominion of truth in the heart. A will that is resolved into God's will cannot desist otherwise.

No: it is not the anti-slavery discussion that stops revivals. If stopped at all, it is by that temper in the church which converts discussion into agitation. The doctrines of Justice, and Freedom, and Mercy, would never agitate, unless met by the spirit of Oppression; by the love of ease, by indolence, and a desire for the honor that cometh from men instead of that which cometh from God. As long as the righteousness of freedom is opposed by the unrighteousness of slavery, there will, there must be, agitation. The contest, in this case, will be, as it ever has been where truth is brought to the destruction of error, terrible; and in proportion, too, as the latter, confident in its strength, proudly defies its adversary. So soon as error is vanquished, the agitation will cease, and who would have it to cease sooner?

Are there any facts in the case? Can we find anything in the condition of the churches around us, tending to illustrate this matter? There are churches from which anti-slavery doctrines and discussions have been vigilantly and successfully repelled. They are undisturbed—in perfect peace—no abolitionist being among them to molest or annoy. What is their condition? Do they seem cold, benumbed, dead, with all the advantages, too, of an able ministry and learned expounders of the truth? If this be so, why is it? May it not be, because they regard iniquity in their hearts? May it not be, that God has sent leanness into them; and that they have contracted



the spirit of oppression, because of their voluntary enlistment in the ranks of those who oppress, and because of their earnestness in finding excuses for those who refuse to obey the commands of God, in breaking the yoke from their brother's neck? No one would say, after the light which has of late been thrown on the sin of intemperance, that a church, made up, chiefly, of rum and whisky drinkers, could have a true revival of religion. To look for it, would seem almost like an insult to the purity of God's truth. How much stronger would be the grounds for expecting a revival in a church, whose members, although they might not actually drink to intemperance themselves, yet employed their minds in framing excuses for their drinking brethren; in proving that the usual measure of their drinking was reconcilable with God's will, and that when it was exceeded in a few instances, their well regulated system of moderate drinking was not to be impugned thereby? Would they give any additional grounds to encourage their expectation, if they were to push their auxiliary efforts, to the abuse of those who were endeavoring to persuade the drinking professor of religion to the practice of entire abstinence as a duty to God and their neighbor, calling them fanatics, radicals, incendiaries, fire-brands? We suppose not.

The church that wants a revival now, must settle the question of slavery on the side of righteousness, fully and forever. It must become an anti-oppression church, regardless of the form in which oppression may show itself, of the power of the oppressor, or of the taunts of his allies. Then, if the Lord be true, shall "its light break forth as the morning and its health spring forth speedily."

Mr. Editor:—A few weeks since I saw a communication in our official paper, published in New York, referring to the decrease of members in the M. E. Church, within the bounds of the New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore conferences, and mentioning the discussion of the slavery question as one of the causes of this decrease.

But this reason in the premises, Mr. Editor, I consider inconclusive for two or three reasons.

1. Because, there has been no very extensive excitement, among the preachers and members of our church, upon the subject of slavery within the bounds of the conferences above named. If this communication be understood as referring to what some of the preachers in the New York and Baltimore conferences have done to oppose the abolitionists, then I acknowledge that as "J. K." (the Rev. John Kenney I suppose) has estimated, there has been some "excitement" within these conferences upon this subject.

2. In the New England and New Hampshire conferences, where a majority of the preachers are abolitionists, and where the subject of slavery has been discussed more than in any other part of the country, there has been an increase of members the past year! How is this? "J. K." says that the agitation of this subject retards revivals and has prevented the increase of members in our church, whereas, we have had the greatest revivals, and the greatest increase of members in those conferences where a majority of the preachers have borne testimony against the sin of slavery; while there has been a positive declension of revivals, and a decrease of membership in two or three of those conferences where the preachers have either stood aloof from this subject or opposed those who engaged in its discussion.

3. There was no "decrease" of revivals nor members in any part of our church, in 1780, and afterwards, when Dr. Coke and the Methodist preachers who organized the M. E. Church, engaged in the discussion of the slavery question. They opposed slavery then by the very same means that are used by the Methodist preachers of the present day, who are denominated abolitionists, and they were blessed and prospered of God in so doing. It is true, at that time there was no paper published by our church in which their real views could be misrepresented, and their principles and measures opposed, and this may be assigned as one reason why there was not in some places, a decrease at that time in the membership.

That the other causes mentioned by "J. K." has served to lessen our numbers in the conferences above named, there can be no doubt, and this same cause (emigration) has served to lessen our membership, it must be remembered, in New England as well as in other places.

It may be proper to add in conclusion, Mr. Editor, that our brethren in New England, as I learn from Zion's Herald, are still favored with a number of very interesting and powerful revivals of religion. May they be continued and increased more and more in each of our conferences, is the prayer of your friend.

Zion's Watchman.

PHILADELPHIA.

THE SPIRIT OF PATRIOTISM.—The following article, published in the very citadel of the slaveholding aristocracy of Kentucky, ought to cause a blush on the faces of such of our fellow-citizens of the free States, as have shown themselves ready, at the bidding of the south, to surrender the strongest outposts of liberty. How can the gentlemen, who lately resolved at Cincinnati, to suppress (of course by lawful means—we are not yet fallen so low, that any other would be countenanced) a portion of the press engaged in advocating the right of the people to free discussion, in maintaining unimpaired the liberty of the press; showing equal respect to the rights of every part of our country, whether it be northern or southern: how, we say, can they read this piece, without feeling that they have greatly humbled their city, have attempted to wound the struggling cause of liberty everywhere, and, it may be, inflicted on their own memories a stain which will be the last visible spot as they are seen descending into oblivion?

From the Lexington Intelligencer.

It seems to us inexpedient for the south to insist on a legislative declaration, by the northern States, of their adoption of an opinion held by the south. It is inexpedient and it is inconsistent. For see—the south says one State has no right to interfere, even so far as to discuss questions foreign to herself, and touching only the internal and strictly domestic affairs of her sisters. Now if this position be true! by what rule does the south demand an expression by the northern legislatures, of an opinion that the northern people at home should not discuss freely any subject whatever? We take it that these demands of the south, violate the very principle which they require the north specifically to recognize. In making these demands, the south herself discusses a question of internal northern policy.

We are not in favor of the violent proceedings of abolitionists; but while they confine their operations to the free States, we cannot recognize the supposed southern right to intermeddle with them. If they introduce dangerous documents into the south, let southern law operate upon the instruments of such introduction. If inflammatory pictures are introduced into the south, dangerous to the peace of the south, they must surely be introduced by human hands, and such hands are evidently proper objects for southern penal sanctions. Upon them, then, let those sanctions fall with their most rigorous pressure; but never let the south give up the principle of free discussion in a State, for upon the pervasion of society with this principle, south or north, hangs the continuance of freedom at either point. If abolitionists come among the slaves with their writings or prints, punish them. If they send them by mail, punish those who exhibit them to your slaves, or to

the free blacks in the south. Against this the north cannot, will not object, because it is a strictly domestic concern of the south; and for the thorough efficiency of the remedial and preventive course here indicated, the boasted southern spirit and conscientious energy, should never directly or indirectly acknowledge themselves incompetent.

If the effect of free discussion at the north, will be such that a more vigilant, rigorous, and perhaps severe course towards southern slaves and southern free incendiaries, will be required at the hands of southern legislatures, so let it be. Southern energy and southern dignity, and southern sectional pride, should prevent complaint;—should forbid us to violate our own favorite principle by dictating their course to northern legislatures. By pertinaciously persisting in complaints, menaces, and blustering, such as South Carolina, by her governor and legislature, has commenced, the cause of the south, in the premises, is not strengthened; but the discussion of the interdicted subject is increased, both at the south and the north. Quiet, yet energetic measures, on the part of the slaveholding States, have ever appeared to us, as the most proper, the most dignified, the most just, and likely to be the most effectual, for the attainment of any properly desirable end, in relation to this subject; and verbal violence and menace, and demands in manner dictatorial, however effectual and proper they may be, in the mouths of slaveholders addressed to their property, can never be expected to be regarded, when addressed by one free community proudly conscious of its strength and rights, to another no less so, in any other light than as unwarrantable, or with any more violent emotion than that of pity. It is, therefore, impolitic in us of the slaveholding States, to use them towards our northern brethren. Let them debate upon slavery or any other subject at home, as much as they please; a fig for what they think of slavery! Burn their pamphlets and pictures if you find them where they should not be; keep your slaves about their proper business, and legally whip those blacks or whites, who intermeddle with your property, according to your own properly enacted laws. If this course is not effectual, the case is a hopeless one, and there must be "something rotten in the State of Denmark."

RENEWED POST-OFFICE VIOLENCE.—The following is from a subscriber in Kentucky—a peaceful, law-abiding and respectable man:—

"Please send my paper some other way than to the post-office. I have received your first number, but no more. \_\_\_\_\_, who keeps the post-office, has refused to let me have them. Send them to \_\_\_\_\_, I can get them there once a month properly."

Dr. CHANNING.—We have been informed, has either published, or is about to publish another edition of his admirable work on Slavery, in which he has made several important alterations. They, doubtless, relate to the abolitionists; as there is no other material part of his work, now recollected, which it seems to us, could well be altered.

EXCITEMENTS TO RAISE A MOB.—Efforts to put down the Freedom of the Press and of Speech.—Should he [the editor of the Philanthropist] and they, his coadjutors, be so mad as still to persist in their present course, they assume an awful responsibility, and the consequences must be upon their own ill-fated heads."—Cin. Whig, Jan. 25, '36.

ANOTHER.—"As it is, we trust, he [the editor of the Philanthropist] has learned sufficient of the sentiments of the people of Cincinnati, with respect to himself and his infatuated coadjutors, to cool his temerity and abandon the hope of securing for the cause of abolition even a toleration in this city."—Cin. Rep. Jan. 25, '36.

Now we wish to ask every candid and ingenious man, if any other construction can be put upon the above paragraphs than this! If the resolutions of the meeting on the 25th, will not so intimate Mr. B. as to stop his press, and impose silence on him and all others who speak about oppression because our neighbors practice it, then they must bear the consequences of southern dictation, in the destruction of their property, the abuse of their persons, and the forcible suppression of their constitutional rights to print and speak and write on any subject which they may think will be profitable to their fellow-citizens. If these prints intend anything else, let them explain.

HUMBLING, BUT CANDID ACKNOWLEDGMENT.—From the Cin. Rep. of last week.—"SOUTHERN feeling is too strong in this city, the interests of her merchants, her capitalists, and her tradesmen, are too deeply interwoven with the interests of the slave States; the commercial and social intercourse between our citizens and the citizens of the south-west, are too intimate to admit of the uninterrupted operations of a society tending to separate the ties which connect the city to those States."

How far the several classes of our citizens above mentioned are willing to say Amen to the above officious proclamation of their shame, we know not. Commerce is desirable; the investment of capital is advantageous; the encouragement of manufactures is profitable; but desirable, advantageous, and profitable as they all may be, if they are to be bought only by a submissive surrender of the liberty of the press, the freedom of speech, and personal security, the people will yet speak in a voice of thunder, "they are too dear!"

THE CINCINNATI REPUBLICAN.—A reply to the very violent and injurious article against us in this print, was intended to be inserted in this week's paper. Other matter more urgent, perhaps, has filled up our columns, to the exclusion of it. We shall have an opportunity soon of replying; and we hope to do so, waiving all retort of the uncivil terms that have been applied to us, with the calmness and moderation which become those who contend for the great principles which lie at the foundation of human liberty and human happiness.

LOVE FOR THE SOUTH.—One of the Cincinnati papers has, within the last week published two essays, written to prove that "Congress has power to prevent the publication and circulation of the abolitionist periodicals in the slaveholding States;" yet this same paper is prodigal in its abuse of those who would offer any reasons against this sentiment. Truly, the slaveholder's workshops established among us, are busy, and bold, too, in their assaults on the press—the abiding foe of their favorite system!

TRUTH HUNTS NO CORNERS, seeks no by-ways; if thou professes to do it openly; if thou seek it do it fairly; he deserves not to profess truth, that professes it fearfully, he deserves not to find the truth, that seeks it fraudulently.

—Quarle.

I should be angry with him that reproves thy sin, thou secretly confesses his reproach to be just; if thou acknowledge his reproach to be just, thou secretly confesses thy anger to be unjust. He that is angry with the just re-prover, kindles the fire of the just revenger.—Quarle.

## Northern Spirit.

### GERRIT SMITH'S REPLY TO A VIRGINIAN.

PETERBORO', DECEMBER 28, 1835.

To the Editor of the New England Spectator:—

I just now see in your paper of 23d inst. portions of a letter from a gentleman in Virginia to myself. I received the letter some weeks ago, and promptly replied to it. Had it occurred to me, that the writer would probably send a copy of this letter to the press, I have been long and carefully written, and more suitable to be made public. Since, however, my Virginia correspondent has published his letter, it is very proper, that I should publish my reply, and I accordingly send you for publication an exact copy of it. The Richmond Telegraph, in which, it seems, the letter was first printed, will probably think it but fair to publish my reply.

Very respectfully yours,  
GERRIT SMITH.

Peterboro', Nov. 26, 1835.

"I thank you, my dear sir, for your letter of 16th inst. received last evening—and none the less, because it finds fault with me. I had not read many lines of it, when I felt that I was reading the letter of a frank, open-hearted, sensible Christian gentleman—and such a gentleman I most cordially welcome into the list of my correspondents. I trust that this will not be our only interchange of letters—and let me assure you, that I endeavor to hold myself open to conviction on every subject, as I presume you do also.

I herewith send you a correct copy of my speech to which you refer. After you have read it all, you will not infer from my use of the words "sword" and "scabbard," that I am a blood-thirsty man—but you will see, that these words were employed in a figurative sense. The war I refer to is a war of mind about the right of free discussion. Let me say that I am one of the supporters of the American Peace Society, and subscribe with all my heart to its doctrines.

I refer you to my letter to Dr. A. L. Cox, under date of 21st inst. It is published in the New York Evangelist of the 21st inst. You will see in that letter some of my reasons for uniting myself with the Anti-Slavery Society. You will see also what I mean by "immediate emancipation"—and that it has nothing to do with "amalgamation," and "rights of free citizens," &c., &c., to which you refer. Whether "amalgamation" is proper, and whether the slaves shall ever be clothed with the "rights of free citizens," are questions I have nothing to do with. What shall be done with the southern slave, when he is delivered from slavery, is not for me to say. All I am contending for, is that he be delivered from the bondage in which he is wickedly held. If American slavery be not wicked, then the arguments with which I assail it fall to the ground. Is it not wicked? Do I not say enough in my letter to Dr. Cox to prove its wickedness? You say, "that slavery is an evil which ought to be removed, whenever it can be done without incurring a greater evil." Now I say it ought to be removed if it be a sin, no matter what the consequences of its removal may necessarily be. I say God requires the immediate abandonment of all sin. You use the word "evil," where I would "sin." Do, my dear sir, shut out of view all consequences resulting in your opinion from the fall of the system, and consider whether this system which denies men the Bible and the family relation, and by the confession of some of your own ecclesiastical bodies, turns them into heathens in a gospel land—do, I say, consider, whether this system should not be called a *sinful* evil. The Lord bring you to this conclusion—and then we are agreed—and then the righteous cause of "immediate emancipation" will have an able advocate even in Virginia.

You will also see by my letter to Dr. Cox, that, in my judgment, it is for the south and the south only to abolish the slavery of the slave States. My only claim for the north in this matter (and that claim I make for George Thompson or any other foreigner) is the privilege of kindly and temperately endeavoring to persuade you to abolish it. If you will not be persuaded then it must remain, until a righteous God shall overthrow it against your will.

I have nothing to say in defense of the errors of the Anti-Slavery Society. I have said and written much against them. But this let me say, that I believe there is nothing in the letter I am now writing, which disengages with the principles of that society. Let me say too, that what you write about that society's demanding "amalgamation" &c., &c., is a sheer error, of which I pray, that your mind may be disabused. That society has nothing to do with "amalgamation," and the individuals composing it are as much opposed to it as you are.

Believe me, dear sir, I love my fellow-citizens at the south. I love them as a portion of my own dear countrymen, and as a portion of the great family of man for whom Christ died. So far from countenancing violence against them, I would not count my life too dear in attempting to shield them from it. But do not, do not, I beseech you, deny us the right of discussing the question of slavery—and do not stir up our base politicians to invade that sacred right.

With great regard, your friend,  
GERRIT SMITH.

### GOVERNOR WOLF.

We take the following from the Message of the Governor of Pennsylvania, delivered Dec. 3d. The prosperity of our country throughout its whole extent is great beyond all former example; but it is to be lamented that whilst our hearts should be filled with gratitude and humble devotion for the bounties of Providence, to Him who bestows them, there should have been manifested in some portions of the Union a spirit of wantonness and insubordination, which have set aside the ordinary forms of law, and executed summary vengeance upon the devoted heads of whosever might fall within its power, according to its own undefined, illicit mode of criminal justice.

Wherever this spirit was dominant, a self-constituted tribunal, predetermined that the victim should suffer the penalty, whether guilty or innocent, was the arbiter of his fate. Property, life, liberty, reputation, everything that is dear to man upon earth, was made to submit to this relentless ordeal. Man became the voluntary executioner of their fellow-men. The most inhuman atrocities and wanton cold blooded murders were committed in the open face of day, and sanctioned by communities who would feel themselves greatly scandalized by having it supposed that they were not models of refinement, intelligence, and respectability. Mobs were collected together under the pretence that some act of immorality or dishonesty had been committed, which it was their province to punish or to correct. The domestic sanctuary was entered by violence, the obnoxious individual sought for, and if found, fell a victim to an infuriated mob; if not, his property became a sacrifice to a frenzied populace, and all this under the unjustifiable plea of necessity or the tardiness of the forms of trial in the courts of law.

It would be gratifying to feel a consciousness that we had nothing of this spirit to reproach ourselves with in our own State; but the truth will not, I am constrained to say, bear us out in claiming entire exemption from its destructive influences. Such things must not be tolerated in a country professing to be governed by just and equal laws. If the laws are too weak to afford protection to the citizen in every emergency, it is time they should be made more efficient; the lives of our citizens must be secured against lawless violence, and it might not be unprofitable to enquire how far it would con-

duce to the suppression of riots, if by legal enactment the obligation to make restitution of property destroyed by mobs, was imposed upon the community within whose limits its destruction was perpetrated.

## ABOLITIONISM.

The doctrines of universal emancipation, no doubt had their origin in motives of the purest humanity and in the most benevolent designs, and would, if left to themselves, by their mild and benignant influences, have greatly ameliorated the condition of both master and slave; indeed, they had already contributed greatly to that desirable end, and might eventually have produced the very object which is now professedly held out as the one desired to be accomplished. But the present crusade against slavery is the offspring of fanaticism of the most dangerous and alarming character; which if not speedily checked may kindle a fire which it may require the best blood of the country to quench, and engender feelings which may prove fatal to the integrity of the union itself. It must be left to the public opinion alone to check and to control the further progress of this misdirected enthusiasm. Legislation cannot be brought to bear upon it without endangering other rights and other privileges in which every individual in this great confederacy is deeply and solemnly interested. The freedom of speech and of the press, which after all is the safeguard to free discussion, and the best expositor of public opinion, must not be infringed upon or controlled by enactments, intended to remedy some temporary mischief only. I would take occasion however to suggest for the consideration of the General Assembly, whether a calm, temperate and dignified, but at the same time firm and decided expression of the views and feelings of that body in reference to this highly dangerous and mischief-threatening spirit, would not be calculated to give tone and expression to public sentiment in relation to that subject, and have a direct tendency to impose an immediate check and restraint upon its further progress.

## Slavery.

### ARGUMENTS AGAINST ANTI-SLAVERY.

1. "Thompson is a foreigner." This is the most prominent and the most influential argument which is now urged. But the time has been when the cry of "foreign emissary" would have excited the burning indignation of this whole nation. LaFayette was a "foreign emissary." Howard who passed his life in "meddling" with the prisons of Europe was a "foreign emissary." Every missionary who goes from our land to "meddle" with the sins and the miseries of other lands is a "foreign emissary." We could welcome the "foreign emissary" LaFayette, when he came to aid us, the slaves of England, to obtain our freedom; but when one comes to plead with us the cause of humanity, the irresistibly convincing reply is, "you are a foreign emissary." Away with such contemptible nonsense. If we cannot reply to a man's arguments but by telling him that he was born in a latitude different from ours, we had better be silent. Truth is truth, whether it come from Jew or Greek, Christian or heathen. And error can be refuted without the contemptible cry, it is a foreigner who utters it. The correctness of a sentiment is the only question deserving inquiry. I care not by whom the sentiment is uttered, by black man or white man; by an archangel from heaven, or by Balaam's ass. Is it the truth? Is the only question that concerns us. I should think a decent man would be ashamed—I should think his tongue would falter before he would stoop so low as to utter the words "foreign emissary."

2. "Slaves, obey your masters." It seems that we must have a new version of the Bible to uphold slavery. It is amusing to think what a hubbub would have been created, if in the days of our revolution, some staunch Tory had urged this sentiment in the popular assemblies of Boston or Charleston. "Lynch law" would have been as speedily employed upon that side of the question then, as it is upon the other now. When the Greek was nobly struggling for freedom with his master, the Turk, who was then so base as to cry out, "Slaves, obey your masters!" A man so degraded was hardly to be found in Christendom. When the Poles resisted the Russian tyrant, even to their country's ruin and their own beggary, where was the heart that did not beat in sympathy with their struggles? Man is so constituted that he cannot help respecting those, black or white, who "seem to be slaves." And yet when the poor slave at the south lifts his bleeding arms and weeping eyes to heaven, and pleads for that dearest of all earthly blessings, liberty—almost the only answer he hears, from saint or sinner, is, "Slave, obey your master." And, if perchance a few individuals cannot harden their hearts to his cry, but are constrained to weep with the poor slave, and to plead for him, they are hunted by a nation's cliquy, and rewards are offered for their heads.

3. We have no right to meddle with the domestic relations of another State. What right had we then to meddle with the domestic relations of the vindictive Turk. When he was mercilessly bathing his scymetar in the blood of the sons and daughters of Greece, there was not a heart in America, which did not throb with sympathy for the oppressed. The expression of our best wishes for Greece were heard on the floor of Congress, from the most influential and the most eloquent men of the nation. The press, without a known exception, uttered its loud and cheering voice of encouragement; and this voice was borne across the Atlantic on every breeze. Our citizens went to fight side by side with the Greek. Our merchant ships were freighted with arms and ammunition and provisions to aid them in the conflict. And yet, gentlemen who applauded all this interference with the domestic relations of another nation, coolly tell us that we have no right to express one word of sympathy for two millions of our countrymen, ground down by an oppression infinitely more merciless than that of the Turk. If we see a million of females without any protection of their persons, we must not utter a syllable upon the subject, for "it is interfering with domestic relations." If we see a million of men prohibited by law, from reading the Bible, and laboring for life without wages, we must not utter a word, for "it is interfering with domestic relations." If we see the mother overwhelmed with anguish as she sees her child torn from her and driven into distant and hopeless bondage, we must close our ears, and harden our hearts, and silence our tongues, for "we must not interfere with domestic relations." If we see droves of our fellow creatures, men, women, and children, in chains and despair, urged by the slave-driver's lash through the land, we must not speak, for it will be "interfering with domestic relations." Can it be that an American press upholds such sentiments—that an American church can slumber over such sins?

But let the press speak as it may—let the church slumber on—let good men and great men try to silence enquiry, and extinguish light—let mobs rage, and rewards be offered for blood—there are too many hearts now bleeding with sorrow for the slave, and pleading with God for his redemption, to be thus palsied. The sentiment, "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church," was never more fully verified than at the present time. The outrages with which the land is now filled, are spreading far and wide the determination to preserve the liberty of speech and of the press. The mind of the nation is now directed to slavery, and every day and every hour add to the number of its uncompromising foes.

—New York Evangelist.

SLAVERY.—What have the people of the north to do with slavery? Nothing, if slavery is just and right. But if slavery is unjust, cruel, and wicked, they have much to do with it. Why? Because the slaves are men. If there is, upon the farthest side

of the ocean, a tribe of robbers, murderers, and cannibals, we, here in America, have something to do with them. It is not consistent with the welfare of the human race that there should be robbers, murderers, and cannibals, anywhere. Again, as Christians, we are entrusted with a set of principles, which go to abolish such crimes, and are commanded by the Redeemer of the world to promulgate them. We have something to do, then, as long as there is upon earth a single man who has not been reached and won to righteousness by these heavenly principles. Have we, then, nothing to do in behalf of 2,250,000 of our fellow men, who, upon the same continent with ourselves, are treated by law and custom as beasts? Do we find ourselves bound by the constitution, which guarantees our rights, with our swords and muskets, to take away theirs, should they rise to claim them, and have we nothing to do with it? Are we called upon to give up fugitives from slavery on the bare claim of any southern man before any magistrate whom he may choose, and have we nothing to do with it? Is slavery perpetuated in the District of Columbia by the votes of our own representatives, and have we nothing to do with it? Is it extended to new States year after year, and have we nothing to do with it? Is America made the nurse of slaves; is her soil stained with an immense traffic in the blood, and bones, and souls of her own native citizens, and have we nothing to do with it? Is her name, dear to her free born sons as the bosom that nursed them, made the by-word and jest of all Europe and the world, and have we nothing to do with it?

And who are they who ask, "what have the people of the north to do with slavery?" Why they are, 1. The slave-holders. They have their reasons. They like anything better than losing their consciences meddled with, especially such of them as were originally from the north. 2. Merchants who traffic with slave-holders. Some of them are afraid they will lose custom. 3. Politicians who are afraid that a shift of the wind will shift them out of office. 4. Preachers of the Gospel, who have a care for the fleece as well as the flock. 5. Some of them, too, are men who are sending missionaries to Palestine, and India, and China, men who are ever ready to raise subscriptions for the Greeks and Poles, men who are saying to every nation under heaven, let us "pluck the mote out of thine eye."

We of the north have much to do with slavery, because God has given us power to abolish it. The slave-holders are men like ourselves. They are not proof against truth, and thought, and feeling. If, in the kind and peaceful spirit of the blessed Gospel, we all take the side of the slave, assert his rights, sympathize in his sufferings, and speak him free so far as we have the power, what can they do? They cannot fight us, they dare not separate from us. Listen they must, and yield they must. God has made ice to melt when the temperature is above a certain point, and it might as well maintain its flinty hardness in a fiery furnace, as the people of the south theirs, after the people of the north are once kindled up to the natural temperature of our common humanity.—*Moving Star*.

## Slave Trade.

SINGULAR INSTANCE OF TRANSFORMATION.—Negroes.—Dr. JOSEPH POWELL, of Elizabethton, Carter county, Tenn., is disposed to engage, on commission, in the purchasing of negroes to the orders of all such persons as may be willing to entrust their interest with him. Having been engaged to some extent in this kind of traffic for two or three years past, he believes himself fully competent to judge the worth of such property. He will charge, as a commission for his services, two per cent. on all sums invested, and would, if requested, deliver the negroes so purchased, at any place designated, for reasonable wages, including expenses.

Such as may wish his services are referred to Col. Ephraim H. Foster, Nashville; Dr. T. G. Greenfield, near Columbia, Maury county; Adam Huntsman, Esq., Jackson, Madison county, Tenn.; and Washington Keys, Esq., cashier of the bank at Decatur, Alabama.

P. S. If those making remittances would forward drafts on Baltimore or Philadelphia, they could be cashed conveniently.—*Nashville Republican*.

Of the gentlemen to whom the Doctor! (quere—*which* of the rival colleges does he illustrate?) refers for proof of his qualifications for commercial operations: Mr. Foster is a lawyer of high standing; Mr. Huntsman a member of Congress; Mr. Keys a professor of religion; of Dr. Greenfield we have no knowledge.

This is the only instance known to us, in which a member of the medical profession (a profession which, from our souls, we honor, because it has furnished early and powerful advocates of every benevolent and humane cause) has become a professed trafficker in human flesh.

We are gratified to learn by an article in the last London New Monthly Magazine, that a treaty had just been entered into between Great Britain and the Spanish Government, which will, it is believed, have the effect of wholly putting an end to this horrible traffic. By the new treaty, the owners and crews of slaves are to be punished as piratical robbers—vessels fitting and preparing may be seized and condemned as if they were laden with their cargo, and previous to their sale are to be broken to pieces, so that they can never be used again. All slaves captured by the British cruisers are to be made over to the British Government which will thus not only give liberty to these unfortunate creatures, but will be able to secure it for them in future. In short, the new treaty puts the abolition of the slave-trade, which now almost solely flourishes under the Spanish flag, entirely in British hands, and the result can readily be anticipated. One good effect of this arrangement will be that, in a short time, the enormous expense, and great sacrifice of human life, sustained by the British in keeping a numerous fleet of cruisers stationed in the most sickly part of the globe, for the prevention of slavery—will, it is hoped, be in a great measure dispensed with. And in their endeavors to put the horrors of this infamous traffic down, they will not be called upon to sacrifice so many lives of their most valuable countrymen.—*Bangor Advertiser*.

A letter just received in Liverpool, dated Benin, August 26th, says: "There are now living at Whyder, twenty-one slaves; at Lagos, fifteen; at Benin, three."

## To the Public.

The Subscriber has invented a machine, for boring tubs for receiving boxes, either for Carriages, Wagons, Carts, or any kind of wheeled vehicle that runs upon boxes. He has used, and fully satisfied himself and others, who are judges of its utility, that it exceeds any thing of the kind that has ever yet been introduced, both for expediency and neatness.

He intends to apply to Government for a patent. This notice is to forewarn all persons from taking advantage of his discovery, until he can obtain one.

ELIAS R. DAY.

## A Card.

The New Richmond Anti-Slavery Society will hold its monthly meeting in the Presbyterian Church, on the first Saturday in February, at early candle-lighting.

THOS. DONALDSON, Sec. pro tem.

## A Card.

Messrs. Thome, Streeter, Allen, Wattles, Lyman, and any others who may be engaged in lecturing in this State, on the subject of Slavery, are requested to communicate to the subscriber, where they may be addressed, from time to time. A. A. GUTHRIE, Cor. Sec. Ohio A. S. S. Putnam, Muskingum Co., Ohio.



Miscellaneous.

DR. CHANNING, ON SLAVERY.

INTRODUCTION.

The first question to be proposed by a rational being is, not what is profitable, but what is right. Duty must be primary, prominent, most conspicuous, among the objects of human thought and pursuit. If we cast it down from its supremacy, if we enquire first for our interests and then for our duties, we shall certainly err. We can never see the right clearly and fully, but by making it our first concern. No judgment can be just or wise, but that which is built on the conviction of the paramount worth and importance of duty. This is the fundamental truth, the supreme law of reason; and the mind, which does not start from this in its enquiries into human affairs, is doomed to great, perhaps fatal error.

The right is the supreme good, and includes all other goods. In seeking and adhering to it, we secure our true and only happiness. All prosperity, not founded on it, is built on sand. If human affairs are controlled, as we believe, by Almighty rectitude and impartial goodness, then to hope for happiness from wrong doing, is as insane as to seek health and prosperity by rebelling against the laws of nature, by sowing our seed on the ocean, or making poison our common food. There is but one unfailing good; and that is, fidelity to the everlasting law written on the heart, and re-written and re-published in God's word.

Whoever places this faith in the everlasting law of rectitude, must of course regard the question of slavery first and chiefly as a moral question. All other considerations will weigh little with him, compared with its moral character and moral influences. The following remarks, therefore, are designed to aid the reader in forming a just moral judgment of slavery. Great truths, inalienable rights, everlasting duties, these will form the chief subjects of this discussion. There are times when the assertion of great principles is the best service a man can render society. The present is a moment of bewildering excitement, when men's minds are stormed and darkened by strong passions and fierce conflicts; and also a moment of absorbing worldliness, when the moral law is made to bow to expediency, and its high and strict requirements are decided or dismissed as metaphysical abstractions, or impracticable theories. At such a season, to utter great principles without passion, and in the spirit of unforgotten and universal good-will, and to engrave them deeply and durably on men's minds, is to do more for the world, than to open mines of wealth, or to frame the most successful schemes of policy.

Of late our country has been convulsed by the question of slavery; and the people, in proportion as they have felt vehemently, have thought superficially, or hardly thought at all; and we see the results in a singular want of well-defined principles, in a strange vagueness and inconsistency of opinion, and in the proneness to excess which belongs to unsettled minds. The multitude have been called, now to contemplate the horrors of slavery, and now to shudder at the ruin and bloodshed which must follow emancipation. The word Measure has resounded through the land, striking terror into strong as well as tender hearts, and awakening indignation against whatever may seem to threaten such a consummation. The consequence is, that not a few dread all discussion of the subject, and if not reconciled to the continuance of slavery, at least believe that they have no duty to perform, no testimony to bear, no influence to exert, no sentiments to cherish and spread, in relation to this evil. What is still worse, opinions either favoring or extenuating it are heard with little or no disapprobation. Concessions are made to it which would once have shocked the community; whilst to assail it is pronounced unwise and perilous. No stronger reason for a calm exposition of its true character can be given, than this very state of the public mind. A community can suffer no greater calamity than the loss of its principles. Lofly and pure sentiment is the life and hope of a people. There was never such an obligation to discuss slavery as at this moment, when recent events have done much to unsettle and obscure men's minds in regard to it. This result is to be ascribed in part to the injudicious vehemence of those who have taken into their hands the care of the slave. Such ought to remember that to espouse a good cause is not enough. We must maintain it in a spirit answering to its dignity. Let no man touch the great interests of humanity, who does not strive to sanctify himself for the work by cleansing his heart of all wrath and uncharitableness, who cannot hope that he is in a measure baptized unto the spirit of universal love. Even sympathy with the injured and oppressed may do harm, by being partial, exclusive, and bitterly indignant. How far the declension of the spirit of freedom is to be ascribed to the cause now suggested, I do not say. The effect is plain, and whoever sees and laments the evil should strive to arrest it.

Slavery ought to be discussed. We ought to think, feel, speak, and write about it. But whatever we do in regard to it should be done with a deep feeling of responsibility, and so done as not to put in jeopardy the peace of the slaveholding States. On this point public opinion has not been and cannot be too strongly pronounced. Slavery, indeed, from its very nature, must be a ground of alarm wherever it exists. Slavery and security can by no device be joined together. But we may not, must not, by rashness and passion increase the peril. To instigate the slave to insurrection is a crime for which no rebuke and no punishment can be too severe. This would be to involve slave and master in common ruin. It is not enough to say, that the constitution is violated by any action endangering the slaveholding portion of our country. A higher law than the constitution forbids this unholy interference. Were our national union dissolved, we ought to rebuke, as sternly as we now do, the slightest manifestation of a disposition to stir up a servile war. Still more, were the free and the slaveholding States not only separated, but engaged in the fiercest hostilities, the former would deserve the abhorrence of the world, and the indignation of Heaven, were they to resort to insurrection and massacre as means of victory. Better were it for us to bare our own breasts to the knife of the slave, than to arm him with it against his master.

It is not by personal, direct action on the mind of the slave that we can do him good. Our concern is with the free. With the free we are to plead his cause. And this is peculiarly our duty, because we have bound ourselves to resist its efforts for his own emancipation. We suffer him to do nothing for himself. The more, then, should he be done for him. Our physical power is pledged against him in case of revolt. Then our moral power should be exerted for his relief. His weakness, which we encrease, gives him a claim to the only aid we can afford, to our moral sympathy, to the free and faithful exposition of his wrongs. As men, as Christians, as citizens, we have duties to the slave, as well as to every other member of the community. On this point we have no liberty. The eternal law binds us to take the side of the injured; and this law is peculiarly obligatory, when we forbid him to lift an arm in his own defense.

Let it not be said we can do nothing for the slave. We can do much. We have a power mightier than armies, the power of truth, of principle, of virtue, of right, of love. We have a power, which is growing with every advance of civilization, before which the slave-trade has fallen, which is mitigating the sternest despotisms, which is spreading education through all ranks of society, which is bearing Christianity to the ends of the earth, which carries in itself the pledge of destruction to every institution which debases humanity. Who can measure the power of Christian philanthropy, of enlightened goodness, pouring itself forth in prayers and persuasions, from the press and pulpit, from the lips and hearts of devoted men, and more and more binding together the wise and good in the cause of their race? All other powers may fail. This must triumph. It is blessed with God's omnipotence. It is God himself acting in the hearts of his children. It has an ally in every conscience, in every human breast, in the wrong-doer himself. This spirit has but begun its work on earth. It is breathing itself more and more through literature, education, institutions, and opinion. Slavery cannot stand before it. Great moral principles, pure and generous sentiments, cannot be confined to this or that spot. They cannot be shut out by territorial lines, or local legislation. They are divine inspirations, and partake of the omnipresence of their Author. The deliberate, solemn conviction of good men through the world, that slavery is a grievous wrong to human nature, will make itself felt. To increase this moral power is every man's duty. To embody and express this great truth is every man's power; and thus every man can do something to break the chain of the slave.

There are not a few persons, who, from vulgar modes

of thinking, cannot be interested in this subject. Because the slave is a degraded being, they think slavery a low topic, and wonder how it can excite the attention and sympathy of those who can discuss or feel for any thing else. Now the truth is, that slavery, regarded only in a philosophical light, is a theme worthy of the highest minds. It involves the gravest questions about human nature and society. It carries us into the problems which have exercised for ages the highest understandings. It calls us to enquire into the foundation, nature, and extent of human rights, into the distinction between a person and a thing, into the true relations of man and man, into the obligations of the community to each of its members, into the ground and laws of property, and above all into the true dignity and indestructible claims of a moral being. I venture to say, there is no subject, now agitated by the community, which can compare in philosophical dignity with slavery; and yet to multitudes the question falls under the same contempt with the slave himself. To many, a writer seems to lower himself who touches it. The falsely refined, who want intellectual force to grasp it, pronounce it unworthy of their notice.

But this subject has more than philosophical dignity. It has an important bearing on character. Our interest in it is one test by which our comprehension of the distinctive spirit of Christianity must be judged. Christianity is the manifestation and inculcation of universal love. The great teaching of Christianity is, that we must recognize and respect human nature in all its forms, in the poorest, most ignorant, most fallen. We must look beneath "the flesh," to "the spirit." The spiritual principle in man is what entitles him to our brotherly regard. To be just to this is the great injunction of our religion. To overlook this, on an account of condition or color, is to violate the great Christian law. We have reason to think that it is one design of God, in appointing the vast diversities of human condition, to put to the test and to bring out most distinctly the principle of love. It is wisely ordered, that human nature is not set before us in a few forms of beauty, magnificence, and outward glory. To be dazzled and attracted by these would be no sign of reverence for what is interior and spiritual in human nature. To lead us to discern and love this, we are brought into connexion with fellow-creatures, whose outward circumstances are repulsive. To recognize our own spiritual nature and God's image in these humble forms, to recognize as brethren those who want all outward distinctions, is the chief way in which we are to manifest the spirit of Him, who came to raise the fallen and to save the lost. We see, then, the moral importance of the question of slavery; according to our decision of it, we determine our comprehension of the Christian law. He who cannot see a brother, a child of God, a man possessing all the rights of humanity under a skin darker than his own, wants the vision of a Christian. He worships the letter. The Spirit is not yet revealed to him. To look unmoved on the degradation and wrongs of a fellow-creature, because burned by a fiercer sun, proves us strangers to justice and love, in those universal forms which characterize Christianity. The greatest of all distinctions, the only enduring one, is moral goodness, virtue, religion. Outward distinctions cannot add to the dignity of this. The wealth of worlds is "not sufficient for a burnt-offering" on its altar. A being capable of this is invested by God with solemn claims on his fellow-creatures. To exclude millions of such beings from our sympathy, because of outward disadvantages, proves, that in whatever else we surpass them, we are not their superiors in Christian virtue.

The spirit of Christianity, I have said, is distinguished by universality. It is universal justice. It respects all the rights of all beings. It suffers no being, however obscure, to be wronged, without condemning the wrongdoer. Impartial, uncompromising, fearless, it screens no favorites, is dazzled by no power, spreads its shield over the weakest, summons the mightiest to its bar, and speaks to the conscience in tones, under which the mightiest have quailed. It is also universal love, comprehending those that are near and those that are far off, the high and the low, the rich and poor, descending to the fallen, and especially binding itself to those in whom human nature is trampled under foot. Such is the spirit of Christianity; and nothing but the illumination of this spirit can prepare us to pass judgment on slavery.

These remarks are intended to show the spirit in which slavery ought to be approached, and the point of view from which it will be regarded in the present discussion. My plan may be briefly sketched.

1. I shall show that man cannot be justly held and used as property.
2. I shall show that man has sacred and infallible rights, of which slavery is the infraction.
3. I shall offer some explanations to prevent misapplication of these principles.
4. I shall unfold the evils of slavery.
5. I shall consider the argument which the Scriptures are thought to furnish in favor of slavery.
6. I shall offer some remarks on the means of removing it.
7. I shall offer some remarks on abolitionism.
8. I shall conclude with a few reflections on the duties belonging to the times.

In the first two sections I propose to show that slavery is a great wrong, but I do not intend to pass sentence on the character of the slaveholder. These two subjects are distinct. Men are not always to be interpreted by their acts or institutions. The same acts in different circumstances, admit and even require very different constructions. I offer this remark, that the subject may be approached without prejudice or personal reference. The single object is to settle great principles. Their bearing on individuals will be a subject of distinct consideration.

INSURRECTION IN TEXAS.

By the accounts received from Texas, it appears that the colonists who have emigrated from the United States and settled in that section of the Mexican Republic have taken up arms against the legal authorities of the government. And as the causes and objects of the contest in which they are engaged appear to be very imperfectly understood among the people generally of this country, a correct though brief statement relative to the subject may not be unacceptable to those who are desirous of further acquaintance with it.

It is well known that the Republic of Mexico was organized upon the popular federative principle which had previously been adopted by the Anglo-Americans of the north. The Mexican people were not, generally, as well acquainted with the science of free government as were the British colonists at the period when they asserted their independence. And though the march of intelligence and improvement has been rapid among them, the former have experienced more difficulty in administering this peculiar kind of government, than their northern neighbors. When the leading politicians of one or more "independent States," (though subordinate in fact,) have been disposed—either through motives of ambition or patriotism—to question the propriety of the acts of the general government, they have at times attempted to "throw themselves upon their sovereignty," in like manner as the "choice spirits" of this nation have frequently threatened to do. To the minds of many, the idea that a "sovereign independent State" can justly be under the positive control of any other earthly power, appears like an *enigma* of very doubtful solution;—and to this cause, mainly, the difficulties above alluded to are attributable. When the military of any particular State have organized, to prevent the execution of the laws of the general government, the President of the Republic, as in duty bound, according to the provisions of the constitution, has taken measures to cause its authority to be respected.

But although the present insurrection in Texas is conducted ostensibly upon the same principle, there are concurrent circumstances, which it is necessary should be known to form a proper estimate of the true state of the controversy. This contest is principally based on a determination of the Anglo-American colonists to RE-ESTABLISH THE SYSTEM OF SLAVERY IN TEXAS.

Previous to the Mexican revolution, slavery was nearly extinguished in all parts of the country, without the aid of legislative enactment. In the early settlement of Austin's first colony, the settlers, proceeding mostly from Louisiana and the adjacent slave-holding States, took large numbers of slaves in with them. Many who established them-

selves, without permission from the government, on Texas lands, adjoining Louisiana and Arkansas, did the same thing. By a law of the Mexican Republic, of the 4th of January, 1823, the purchase or sale of slaves, thereafter introduced, was strictly prohibited; and the children born of slaves, then held, were declared free at fourteen years of age. The constitution of the State of Coahuila and Texas, promulgated in March, 1827, contains the following article:—

"13. In this State no person shall be born a slave after this constitution is published in the capital of each district, and six months thereafter, neither will the introduction of slaves be permitted under any pretext."

Laws were also passed by the legislature of this State, subjecting the future importers of slaves to the penalties imposed by the earlier enactments of the general Congress, and providing for the education, &c., of the children of persons still held as slaves in the new settlements. But the people of those settlements refused to carry these laws into effect; and slaves were introduced and held in the same condition as before the prohibitory enactments were promulgated. Considerable numbers were even taken in from Africa, by way of Cuba, in the very face of all the laws, treaties, &c., for the suppression of the African Slave Trade. Some difficulties existed in other parts of the Republic, which prevented the government from extending its authority to this remote section, and the daring violators of the laws persisted in their course with impunity. They not only generally refused a compliance with the regulations above-mentioned, but neglected to keep up the custom-house establishments, and permitted the introduction of foreign goods without paying the legal duties, as well as *contraband* articles of every description. Foreign adventurers and speculators likewise took possession of lands belonging to government, and claimed the right to hold the same without having obtained legal title."

In this state of things, the colonists attempted to establish a State Government, separate from Coahuila. They drew up a constitution, (without having taken the measures required by the existing one,) in which no mention was made of the subject of slavery, and sent it to the general Congress for ratification. They boasted, at the same time, that when their new State government should be organized they would "stand upon their sovereignty," and re-establish the system of slavery. Stephen F. Austin, the principal empresario (contractor) for the establishment of colonies in Texas, was deputed as the bearer of the new constitution to the seat of the general government. For various reasons, the national Congress refused its sanction to the separation of Texas from Coahuila at that time. Austin then recommended the people of Texas to organize a State government, without the consent of Congress. This being ascertained by the national executive, Austin was imprisoned for a considerable length of time. As the colonists did not then openly manifest a disposition to resist the authority of the government by force, he was finally liberated, and returned to Texas. The government now determined on sending a few troops into the Texas country, to re-establish the custom-houses, and prevent the introduction of slaves, the smuggling of goods contrary to law, the illegal speculations in lands, &c. One or two armed vessels were despatched to the coast of Texas for the purpose of intercepting the contraband trade.

In the meantime, propositions were made by some of the States, to change the form of government from that of a federative to a consolidated Republic. It is believed, by some, that a large majority of the nation prefer the latter; and many are of the opinion that it will be better suited to their condition. To this, as might be expected, the Texas colonists have demurred. Whatever may be the other grounds of objection, this one to them is all-important.—It would effectually crush their darling hopes of perpetuating slavery. They well know that the system will never be tolerated, if the influence and authority of the general government of Mexico prevails. Hence their efforts to establish an "independent State," with the view of exercising their sovereignty in this matter, as the advocates of slavery attempted to do a few years since in Illinois. Having failed in this, they now wish to assume their complete and entire independence of the Mexican government, and finally obtain admission as a slaveholding State in the northern Union.

No sooner was it known that the executive of the general government had forwarded troops to Texas, than the colonists prepared to resist them. In conjunction with some New Orleans adventurers, they immediately captured (under the United States' flag) one of the armed vessels on the coast, and proceeded forthwith to organize an army. The proposed change in the form of government is used as the pretext for resistance to the national authorities, at the present time. And they are invoking the sympathy and calling for the aid of the citizens of the United States, in their endeavors to absolve themselves from their obligations to the Mexican Republic. This they would soon have done, even if no change had been proposed in the form of government,—as they had determined to establish the system of slavery, permanently, at all events. Slave-breeder, slave-dealers, contraband traders, land-speculators, with the ambitious and unprincipled of every class in our large cities and towns may be expected to favor their views. But it remains to be seen how many will be seduced into the measure of violating the rules of national courtesy, of transgressing the laws of their own country, and waging war against a friendly power, for the unholy purpose of sustaining a system of wrong, of outrage, and oppression.

The charges made against the President of the Mexican Republic, and so industriously circulated in the newspapers of this country, relative to the usurpation of power, and a design to abridge the liberties of his constituents, are not warranted by facts. Placed in the chair of executive authority by the will of an immense majority of the people, it was his duty to enforce obedience to the constitutional decrees of the nation. In doing this, he was himself governed by the laws; and when the object was accomplished, he always left the co-ordinate branches of the government in the full exercise of their functions, and the people in possession of their legal, inalienable rights. If any change is finally made in the form of government, it will not be the act of the President alone,—but that of a majority of the nation, through the representation of the people. And if, in their own opinion, the peace and welfare of the country can be better secured by such change, no one can doubt their right to make

"Perhaps in no age or nation has a more extensive system of land speculating and swindling been witnessed, than in the Texas country within a few years past. Companies have been organized in New York and Nashville for the purpose; and millions of acres of land have been taken possession of without a shadow of legal claim, and thousands of unassuming persons have been wheedled out of their money, for which they will never obtain an equivalent. This was the sole cause of the recent abrogation of the colonization laws by the legislature."

An act of Congress, passed on the 23d of April, 1813, entitled: "An Act, in addition to an Act for the punishment of crimes against the United States," contains the following:—

"Section 6.—And be it further enacted, that if any person shall, within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States, begin, or set on foot, or provide or prepare the means for any military expedition or enterprise, to be carried on from thence against the territories of any foreign Prince or State, or of any colony, district, or people, with whom the United States are at peace, every person so offending shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor, and shall be fined, not exceeding three thousand dollars, and imprisoned, not more than three years."

In virtue of the power vested in him by this law, the President of the United States has, upon a notification from the Mexican Charge des Affaires in this country, directed the U. S. District Attorneys to prosecute all persons found guilty of transgressing its provisions, within the territory of the United States. The revenue officers are also directed to aid in bringing such offenders to justice."

it.\* It is not proposed to substitute a monarchy, or a military despotism, as the enemies of the Mexicans have asserted,—but a consolidated, popular, elective government, upon genuine republican principles, in the place of a federation of States, "independent" only in name, yet under a supreme governing and controlling power.

It should be borne in mind, by the people of the United States, that the advocates of slavery have long had an eye upon the Texas country, as a future mart for the excess of the slave population in the south, and the extension and preponderance of slave-holding influence in the government of this Union. Who can forget the essays of "Americanus," "La Salle," &c., published in the southern newspapers a few years since? It is generally understood that the author of those essays was Thomas H. Benton, a Senator in Congress from Missouri. He had the unblushing effrontery to assert, (as others have done since,) that the United States have a right to claim the whole of the Texas country, because it was once considered a part of Louisiana! Although Florida was obtained in lieu of Texas, at the time of the cession of Louisiana, and the line was distinctly drawn, and the treaty of cession firmly ratified, yet this claim has been impudently set up, with the view of increasing the dimensions of the slave-holding territory and perpetuating slave power in this Republic. Benton made no secret of the designs of the slave-holding party. He openly declared, that the United States government should obtain the territory in question for the purpose of creating "five or six more slave-holding States," to counterbalance the preponderating increase and influence of the free States of the north. As he could make but few proselytes to the absurd and iniquitous doctrine, however, the slave-holding executive of this government was induced to apply to the Mexican authorities for a cession of the Texas country to the United States. This having been promptly and positively refused, the object of the slave party now is to assist the colonists in the temporary establishment of their independence, with the view of admission into this Union (or perhaps attachment to a new government to be organized in the south) at a future period.

With these facts and circumstances before them, let the citizens of the United States pause and reflect, ere they engage in an enterprise not only Quixotic and hazardous, but one calculated (should it possibly prove successful) to rivet the fetters of hereditary bondage on millions of human beings yet unborn. The foreign settlers in Texas have experienced from the Mexican Republic a liberality and generosity seldom exhibited by any nation under heaven. They would find no difficulty, were they disposed to comply with the regulations of the government to whose authority they owe allegiance. I repeat that the primary object of the persons engaged in the present contest is, to plunder the Mexicans of their fine rich soil—in like manner as they have plundered the various Indian tribes—and to re-establish and perpetuate the SYSTEM OF SLAVERY, with all its horrible abominations, in a vast extent of country where it is now prohibited by the laws.

THE NEW MEXICAN CONSTITUTION.—Since writing the foregoing article, accounts have been received from the city of Mexico, by which it appears, that the proposal to change the form of government, has been adopted by the general Congress; and the basis, upon which the new constitution is to be established, is promulgated.

The system of government is to be representative Republic, divided into Legislative, Executive, and Judicial departments, as formerly. The Legislature will consist of a Senate and House of Representatives, and the Executive branch of a President, &c.; all elective periodically, by the people, as before. The constitution will define the mode of electing the officers of the Judiciary. In the place of States, Departments will be established, with governors and councils, the latter clothed with municipal legislative power, and all subject to the control of the national congress, &c. In regard to the established religion, no change is proposed.

When the new constitution shall have been prepared and adopted, particular notice will be taken of it in this work.—*Genius of Uni. Eman.*

THE SPIRIT OF SLAVERY.

FACTORY CHILDREN.—There are now from 1000 to 1500 factory children out of employment, and destitute of the means of support, at Patterson, New Jersey. The ages of these sufferers vary from 7 to 18. The cause of their suffering is a strike in favor of the eleven-hour system.

This is a case which appeals strongly to the best sympathies of our nature. These poor children, at a tender age, and immature strength, were required to labor 14 hours out of 24. This was literally working them to death. The toil and confinement were too much for them. The parents (of such as had parents) of these over-worked operatives, seeing their children sinking under these burthens, implored their employers to remit a portion of their labor. But avarice has no heart. The employers were inexorable. The children must work from daylight to sunset or starve. They have chosen the latter alternative, and unless relief is extended to them, they must starve.

In this land of abundance, there is no excuse for thus over working our children. A reasonable amount of labor, can and should procure, for every American citizen, ample food and raiment. The poor must not be thus borne to the earth. Factory children should be protected by law from the oppressions and rapacity of their employers. But in the absence of legal protection the people should rise up to relieve, cherish and shield them.

The factory children at Patterson want immediate relief. They are without bread. Shall this be tolerated? Will the citizens of Albany suffer a thousand children to starve, because they refuse to become the slaves of their unfeeling employers? Let us do something,—and promptly too—to uphold and sustain these children in their refusal to work more than eleven hours for 2s. 6d.—*Albany Eve. Jour.*

Wouldst thou traffic with the best advantage, and crown thy virtues with the best return? Make the poor thy chapman, and thy factor: so shalt thou give trifles which thou couldst not keep, to receive treasure which thou canst not lose: there is no such merchant as the charitable man.—*Quarle.*

"The Declaration of Independence" of the United States, contains the following emphatic assertion, which applies equally as well to the present case as any other:—"We hold these truths to be self-evident,—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

4 It is not probable that the territory in question will be easily wrested from the Mexican Republic, if it can be done at all. Even should a sufficient number of adventurers proceed from the United States, to enable the colonists to resist the authority of the government for a time, it will not doubt receive aid from other quarters. A large auxiliary force will be necessary, to make anything of a stand against the troops that will be brought from the interior of the Republic; and should such a force be obtained from these States, it will be generally supposed that the United States government secretly favors the procedure with the view of obtaining possession of the country. Neither England nor France will probably act as quiet spectators, and the United States will extend her dominion on the borders of the Gulf of Mexico. They are jealous of the grasping ambition and increasing power of this nation; and it has been stated on the floor of the British Parliament, that England will consider herself the ally of Mexico, should it be necessary for the latter, on this account, to apply for aid in preserving the integrity of her territory.

Poetry.

THE CLIMBER'S COMPLAINT.

BY MONTGOMERY.

Who loves the climbing boy?—Why cares  
If well or ill I be?  
Is there a living soul that shares,  
A thought or wish for me?

I've had no parents since my birth,  
Brothers and sisters—none:  
Oh, what is all this world to me,  
Where I am only one!

I wake, and see the morning rise,  
And all around me gay;  
But nothing I behold is mine,  
No—not the life of day!

No! not the very breath I draw—  
These limbs are not my own;  
A master calls me his by law,  
My griefs are mine alone.

Ah, these they could not make him feel—  
Would they themselves had felt  
Who bound me to that man of steel,  
Whom mercy cannot melt.

Yet not for wealth or ease I sigh,  
All are not rich and great:  
Many may be as poor as I—  
But none so desolate.

For all I know have kin and kind,  
Some home, some hope, some joy;  
But these I must not look to find—  
Who knows the climbing boy?

The world has not a place of rest  
For outcasts so forlorn—  
'Twas all bespoken, all possess'd—  
Long before I was born!

Affection, too, life's sweetest cup,  
Goes round from hand to hand;  
But I am never ask'd to sup—  
Out of the ring I stand.

If kindness beats within my heart,  
What heart will beat again?  
I coax the dogs,—they snarl and start—  
Brutes are as bad as men.

The beggar's child may rise above  
The misery of his lot,  
The gipsy may be loved and loved—  
But I—but I—must not.

Hard fare, cold lodgings, cruel toil,  
Youth, health, and strength consume;  
What tree could thrive in such a soil?  
What flower so scathed could bloom?

Should I out-grow this crippling work,  
How shall my bread be sought?  
Must I to other lands turn Turk,  
And teach what I am taught?

O! might I roam with flocks and herds  
In fellowship along!  
O! were I one among the birds—  
All wing, all life, all song!

Free with the fishes may I dwell,  
Down in the quiet sea;  
The snail in his cocooned shell—  
The snail's a king to me.

For out he goes in April showers,  
Lies snug when storms prevail,  
He feeds on fruits, he sleeps on flowers—  
I wish I was a snail.

No: never! do the worst they can,  
I may be happy still;  
For I was born to be a man—  
And if I live, I will.

DUFF GREEN'S ACCOUNT OF WHAT ABOLITIONISTS ARE DOING.

We are those who believe the south has nothing to fear from a servile war. We do not believe that the abolitionists intend, nor could they if they would, excite the slaves to insurrection. The danger of this is remote. We believe that we have most to fear from the organized action upon the consciences and fears of the slaveholders themselves, from the insinuations of their dangerous heresies, into our schools, our pulpits, and domestic circles. It is only by alarming the weak and feeble, and diffusing among our own people a morbid sensibility on the question of slavery, that the abolitionists can accomplish their object. Preparatory to this, they are now laboring to saturate the non-slaveholding States with the belief that slavery is a "sin against God;" that the "national compact" involves the non-slaveholders in that sin; and that it is their duty to toil and suffer, that our country may be delivered from what they term "its blackest stain, its foulest reproach, its deadliest curse."—*U. S. Telegraph.*

The following is among the resolutions passed at the formation of the Worcester Co., (Mass.) Anti-Slavery Society:—

Resolved, That the recent attempts to put down free discussion is striking a deadly blow at the very vitals of our republican institutions, and that the worst of consequences are involved in them,—that the question is not whether the colored man shall be free, merely, but whether we ourselves shall be slaves;—and that the present state of things calls loudly upon the philanthropist, the patriot, and the Christian, to put forth every suitable effort, to sustain those rights given by God, and secured to us by the blood of our fathers, and to hand them down, unimpaired, to future generations.

SOUND DOCTRINE.—To a community like this, the members of which have been reared in habitual reverence of law, nothing is so odious as to witness the contempt of that which they have been taught to venerate; and when such contempt is manifested by those who derive their whole authority from the law, there is always hazard that such examples may be followed by others differently situated. But civil liberty must cease to exist, whenever any man or body of men, whether clothed with civil or military authority, or without authority of any kind, is suffered to violate the law with impunity.—*Gov. Tazewell.*

A people is never more insulted than when a mob takes its name. Abolition must not be put down by lawless force. The attempt so to destroy it ought to fail. Such attempts place abolitionism on a new ground. If the constitution and the laws cannot put it down, it must stand; and he who attempts its overthrow by lawless force is a rebel and usurper. A newspaper which openly, or by innuendoes, excites a mob, should be regarded as sounding the tocsin of insurrection.—*Dr. Channing.*

A FACT.—The poor persecuted free colored people, whose liberty is said to be a curse to them, live far longer than the slaves. There would have been 327,000 more slaves in 1830 than there were, if the adult slaves had borne the same proportion to the slave children under 10, as the adults of the free colored people did to theirs of the same age. Thus slavery wears out more than thirty thousand victims a year.—*Human Rights.*

If you have respect to persons, ye commit sin.—  
God is no respecter of persons.—*Holy Writ.*